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RUDOLF OTTO AND REALIZED ESCHATOLOGY

RUDOLF OTTO died in the spring of 1937 in his sixty-eighth year. He first became known in this country by the publication of his *Naturalism and Religion* in an English translation in the Crown Theological Library. But his fame more widely rests on a later book, *Das Heilige*, which appeared in 1917, and went through ten editions before Professor J. W. Harvey translated it into English in 1924. Five years after that it was in its twenty-second German edition, and had been translated into Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, French and Japanese. It is not often that such a book as *The Idea of the Holy* becomes a best seller in many lands. This belongs to a type of theology that makes an appeal to a general public which is interested in the basic problems of religion but will not venture into the more specialized fields of theological research. For that reason it is not likely that his greatest book will win so wide a circle of readers, but it will certainly have an honourable place in biblical theology, and some scholars confidently announce that it is the most important book for its bearing upon New Testament studies that has appeared in the last ten years. *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn* came out in 1934. This year an English translation by Professor F. V. Filson and Dr. B. Lee Woolf has been published under the title, *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man* (Lutterworth Press, 15s.). The author revised the book for this purpose, and even revised and approved the first draft of this translation, but died before it reached its final form.

It is not easy to summarize such a book, nor to decide what are the points upon which we might best concentrate our attention. It will appeal in different ways according to the dominant theological interest of every reader. He whose main concern is with comparative religion will be interested in the contribution which Otto's special study of Oriental religions has brought to the conception of the Kingdom. But it may be doubted whether remote Aryan mythology has much to bring to our understanding of the Gospels. We know that during the Persian domination many ideas found their way into the angelology and demonology of later Judaism, and that more especially Jewish apocalyptic owes much to the foreign influences of the period. But it is in those apocalypses, rather than in Vedic hymns or Iranian eschatology that we must look for the background of the apocalyptic symbolism of the Gospels. Those who are pre-occupied with Form Criticism will be alert to follow the way in which Otto disregards the canons laid down by the leaders of that critical method, and follows the documentary theory advanced by Bussmann in his *Synoptische Studien*.

Others will find a peculiar value in the contribution made by Otto to the study of sacramental origins in the Gospels, and developments in the early Church. Whilst others again, whose special field is religious psychology, will turn with more eagerness to the section of the book which sets forth the charismatic type, considers Jesus as the *Urcharismatiker*, and discusses the views of Windisch about the 'pneumatic' character of Christ. This all has an important bearing upon the miraculous element in the Gospels.

But for most of us the outstanding significance of the book, however much we may be interested in those other aspects of the general subject, is the line which Otto strikes out with regard to what for a generation past has been one of the most hotly debated questions in the interpretation of the Person and teaching of our Lord. What was Christ's meaning when He so constantly spoke of the Kingdom of

God? In what sense did He claim to be the Son of Man? Everyone in reading the Gospels must be struck by the presence, side by side, of two sets of sayings of Jesus, in one of which He speaks of the Kingdom as a present experience, whilst in the other He seems to refer to some impending cataclysm which will soon sweep away the present world order and inaugurate the Kingdom of God. The main interest in the one group of sayings seems to be ethical, in the other eschatological. In one we seem to breathe the calm atmosphere of Hebrew prophecy, in the other the heated air of Jewish apocalyptic. The interpretation given to our Lord's teaching about the Kingdom depends on our choice of one or the other of these groups of sayings as the key to His gospel. It was just about the turn of the century that these opposite tendencies were brought into sharpest contrast. In the year 1900 Harnack delivered that brilliant course of lectures which soon became almost as well known in this country as in Germany, *What is Christianity?* Harnack grouped the teaching of Jesus under three heads, (1) The Kingdom of God and its coming, (2) God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul, (3) The higher righteousness and the commandment of love. The first of these, we are told, embraces two poles, with many stages between them that shade off one into another. At one pole the coming of the Kingdom seems to be a purely future event, and the Kingdom itself to be the external rule of God; at the other, it appears as something inward, something which is already present and making its entrance at the moment. The principle which we apply to the judgement of epoch-making personalities is to put into the background what they share with their contemporaries and to set in bold relief what is characteristic of them. Now in the case of Jesus, says Harnack,¹ 'there can be no doubt about the fact that the idea of the two kingdoms, of God and of the devil, and their conflicts, and of that last conflict at some future time when

¹ *What is Christianity?* p. 55.

the devil, long cast out of heaven, will be also defeated on earth, was an idea which Jesus simply shared with His contemporaries. He did not start it, but He grew up in it and He retained it. The other view, however, that the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, that it is already here, was His own'. A study of the Parables shows us that the Kingdom of God comes by coming to the individual, by entering into his soul and laying hold of it. True, the Kingdom of God is the rule of God; but it is the rule of the holy God in the hearts of individuals; *it is God Himself in His power*. The reply of Jesus to John the Baptist shows that the Kingdom of God was already present in His saving activity. By His healing ministry, above all by His forgiveness of sin, the Kingdom of God comes. That Kingdom has a triple meaning: (a) It is something supernatural, a gift from above, not a product of ordinary life; (b) It is a purely religious blessing, the inner link with the living God; (c) It is the most important experience that a man can have, that on which everything else depends; it permeates and dominates his whole existence, because sin is forgiven and misery banished. Since Harnack's name is often cited as though the Liberal Protestantism for which he stood regarded the Kingdom of God as merely a movement for social righteousness carried along by a law of automatic progress, this note in his interpretation should be clearly heard: 'It is by the supernatural element alone that we can ever get at the meaning of life; for natural existence ends in death, and a life that is bound up with death can have no meaning. Here, however, the Kingdom of God, the Eternal, entered into time. "Eternal light came in and made the world look new".'¹

Scarcely had Harnack's famous book been published when there crept from the press a little book written by the assistant minister of a church in Strassburg, called '*The Lord's Supper in connexion with the Life of Jesus and the History*

¹ *What is Christianity?* p. 64.

of Early Christianity'. The second part of this bore the title: '*The Secret of the Messiahship and Passion of Jesus. A Sketch of the Life of Jesus.*' This book was not translated into English until 1925,¹ and it made but little stir in Germany. But five years later its main ideas were developed in the famous book which in 1910 was so brilliantly translated into English under the seductive title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. Schweitzer had been anticipated by Johannes Weiss in placing the main emphasis upon the eschatological element in the teaching of Jesus. But he went much further in his 'consistent eschatology', applying this one key to every part of the Gospel, narrative as well as sayings. Schweitzer's position is so well known that it is only necessary to emphasize a few points in recalling his method of interpreting the life and teaching of Jesus. For him the fundamental text is Mark ix. 1, 'And He said unto them, Verily I say unto you, There be some here that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power'. For Jesus, the Kingdom of God was an imminent, catastrophic event. In the light of this definite anticipation all the contents of the Gospels must be read. The very passages which Harnack relies upon are turned into evidence in favour of this 'consistent eschatology' of Jesus. The Parables of the Sower, of the Seed growing automatically, of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven, are all told, not to help to an understanding of the character or method of growth of the Kingdom, but to make the hearers observe that in the affairs of the Kingdom of God a secret is preparing like that which they experience in nature. 'They are *signals*. As the harvest follows upon the seed-sowing, without it being possible for any one to say how it comes about; so as the sequel to Jesus' preaching, will the Kingdom of God come with power.'² Even more

¹ *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*.—Eng. Trans. by W. Lowrie (A. & C. Black, 1925).

² *ibid.* p. 109.

striking is the explanation which Schweitzer gives of the place of moral teaching in the Gospel records. The ministry of Jesus is a call for repentance as a preparation for the coming of the Kingdom. This repentance is a moral renewal in prospect of the accomplishment of universal perfection in the future. This leads to the well-known theory associated with the name of Schweitzer, that as repentance unto the Kingdom of God the ethics also of the Sermon on the Mount is interim ethics. The Beatitudes define the moral disposition which justifies admission into the Kingdom. 'This is the explanation of the use of the present and the future tense in the same sentence. Blessed are the meek . . . because such character and conduct is their security that with the appearing of the Kingdom of God they will be found to belong to it.'¹ When Jesus said to the discreet scribe 'Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God', the words must be understood in a purely chronological sense. He is not far from the Kingdom of God because he possesses the moral quality which will identify him as a member of the same when after a short space it appears. In the immediateness of the ethical view of Jesus 'there is no place for a morality of the Kingdom of God, or for a development of the Kingdom: it lies beyond the borders of good and evil; it will be brought about by a cosmic catastrophe through which evil is to be completely overcome. Hence all moral criteria are to be abolished. The Kingdom of God is supermoral'.² 'Every ethical form of Jesus, be it never so perfect, leads therefore only up to the frontier of the Kingdom of God, while every trace of a path disappears so soon as one advances upon the new territory. There one needs it no more.'³ The difference between Jesus and His contemporaries is that they were waiting for the Kingdom, while for Him it was a question of bringing to pass the expected

¹ *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*.—Eng. Trans. by W. Lowrie (A. & C. Black, 1925), p. 96.

² *ibid.* p. 101.

³ *ibid.* p. 102.

event through moral renovation. 'Eschatological ethics is transformed into ethical eschatology.'¹

Before passing on, a word or two must be said about two other important points in Schweitzer's theory. Jesus was conscious not that He was the Messiah or Son of Man, but that He was to fulfil that role when the Kingdom of God had come. This was the Messianic secret betrayed by Judas to the Chief Priests. The other point is the secret of the Passion. At first, and for long, Jesus expected the speedy coming of the Kingdom. He even expected its arrival before the Twelve had completed their round of the cities of Israel announcing the near approach of the end. Now Jesus recognized that there was delay. Before He as Son of Man could come from heaven He must first go there Himself. This involved His death and resurrection. So He set His face to go to Jerusalem. The Woes of the Messiah, a 'sort of hurricane belt' (as Sanday described them) had to be passed through on the way to the end. Jesus Himself must pass through the same experience as the people. Indeed, at the end the others are freed from the trial of suffering, and Jesus suffers alone. His faithful followers are spared. He suffers in their stead, for He gives His life a ransom for many. Thus the journey to Jerusalem was the funeral march to victory. In the upper room Jesus celebrated an eschatological sacrament with the Twelve, as once before in a veiled form He had done so with the multitude by the Lake of Gennesaret. This time He explained its significance by saying that He would drink no more of the fruit of the vine until He drank it new in the Kingdom of God.

For a whole generation New Testament scholarship has been divided between these sharply contrasted schools of interpretation. Not that every one has accepted all that Schweitzer has laid down, even when recognizing that the

¹ *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*.—Eng. Trans. by W. Lowrie (A. & C. Black, 1925), p. 115.

portrait of Jesus in the pages of Harnack is far too modern to be identified with the volcanic figure set before us in the pages of St. Mark. Not that everyone who thinks that Harnack's account of Christ's teaching about the Kingdom is inadequate is convinced that the apocalyptic visionary of Schweitzer's fancy does justice to the sanity and poise of the revelation of the Father which is the perennial marvel of the Gospels.

Otto's book *Kingdom of God and Son of Man* is regarded by many scholars, such as Heinrich Frick in Germany and C. H. Dodd in this country, as leading the way to a new departure in the treatment of this subject. Its arrival was greeted with enthusiasm by the veteran Adolf Jülicher,¹ in a review which the old scholar, stricken with blindness, declared would be his last. On the other hand Rudolf Bultmann, who combines the historical scepticism of Wrede with the Crisis Theology of Karl Barth, devotes thirty-four pages in the *Theologische Rundschau* for January, 1937, to a searching criticism of its method and results. For our part the significant thing is that Otto emphasizes the very points which attract us in turn both to Harnack's and to Schweitzer's opposing interpretations. Like Harnack, Otto emphasizes the full force of the tense in our Lord's reply to the Baptist's question, and in His argument with his critics in the matter of Beelzebub. The Kingdom of God is already here. It has already come. Otto shows how the Kingdom of Heaven is always considered as a sphere of salvation, and as a power that has already broken through into this present age and order of existence. Now, as C. H. Dodd has pointed out,² the Schweitzerian school of interpreters, while professing to find the key to the teaching of Jesus in 'consistent eschatology', was really proposing a compromise. 'In the presence of one set of sayings which appeared to contemplate

¹ See *ThLZ*, lix. (1934), 229 ff. (Adolf Jülicher died this summer in his ninety-second year.)

² *The Parables of the Kingdom*, p. 49.

the coming of the Kingdom of God as future and another set which appeared to contemplate it as already present, they offered an interpretation which represented it as coming very, very soon.' He adds, 'I cannot see how anyone, after reading *Reich Gottes und Menschensohn*, pp. 51-73,¹ could ever be content with interpretations which water down the meaning of these great sayings into a mere expectation that the Kingdom of God would come very soon'. Nor is the teaching of Jesus an interim ethic. Such a command as to love God above all things and one's neighbour as one's self owes nothing of its validity or claim to the coming of the Kingdom. It is absolute, depending upon the holiness of God, and cannot be enhanced by the eschatological situation. On the other hand, readers of *Das Heilige* will not be surprised that the 'numinous' element is in evidence. Though Jesus is spoken of as a 'consistent eschatologist', the essential irrationality of the eschatological type is emphasized. The undefined and indefinable character of the Kingdom is underlined, as of all that belongs to salvation. The supra-mundane origin and nature of the power that has broken through the crust of the visible and tangible order of life is never overlooked. The greatest blessing that it brings is promised to the pure in heart—the vision of God. What that means is not said, but it is described as like a treasure that is suddenly stumbled upon, or like a pearl of great price for which everything is sacrificed.

To quote Otto's own words,² Jesus 'remains a consistent eschatologist, not from the standpoint of those who twist His words, but from the standpoint of the character which the Kingdom has for Him, as a *mysterium*, a *mirum*. And it would be entirely wrong to say that here He teaches an immanent instead of a transcendent Kingdom. The Kingdom would be immanent if it were fixed in the things of this world or in the souls of men, and grew out of them as their product. It is always something purely and entirely

¹ Eng. Tr., pp. 67-93.

² p. 109 (cf. E.T., p. 137).

transcendent, and only fully so when it breaks through into the sphere of this world, when it comes down with its "power", and so "is in your midst".

One very striking feature of Otto's book is his vigorous defence of the essential historicity of much that has been treated as unauthentic by such writers as Wrede, or as the creation of *Gemeindetheologie* by some of the writers of the *formgeschichtliche Schule*. Thus he is very definite about our Lord's Messianic claims. 'When a man came who stirred up the masses with the message, "The Kingdom has come" (which would also imply that the end of every earthly kingdom and even of the Roman Empire had come), and, indeed, had let them know that the powers of that Kingdom had already burst in and were showing themselves in His works and who finally, in reply to a judicial question, acknowledged that He was Himself the claimant to this Kingdom—such a man had to be nailed to a cross by the Roman authority. And conversely, the evidence shows that if Jesus was nailed to a cross, He was such a claimant, and was not first made out to be such by the theology of the Church. For if it had been an itinerant Rabbi who came with mere appeals for "decision in the present situation", Pilate might perhaps have driven Him back to His Galilean town, but he would not have nailed Him to a cross.'¹ So also with our Lord's identification of the Messiah with the Suffering Servant of God. There is no question that the primitive Church did make this identification. But Otto is very scornful of those who attribute this to the anonymous outcome of a collective fantasy, explained as a 'sociological function'. Collective bodies do not beget great revolutionary ideas, but great revolutionary ideas do create new group forms with a new *milieu*.²

An interesting example of Otto's method of testing the historicity of passages in the Gospels is found in his treatment of the words of institution. The reference to the

¹ p. 45 (cf. E.T., p. 58).

² pp. 205f. (cf. E.T., pp. 246f.).

broken body indicates that Jesus anticipated death by stoning, the judicial sentence for blasphemy. Therefore we can be sure that Jesus expected His death at the hands of His enemies, though not crucifixion. Had this saying been formulated by the early Church, it would have been worded differently. Thus Otto would seem to regard the predictions of crucifixion as a modification of the actual words used by Jesus at the hands of the later Church.

Something must now be said about Otto's conception of the originality of Christ's proclamation of the Kingdom of God. This he does by drawing a contrast with the teaching and attitude of the Baptist. Two points invite comparison: (a) Instead of a message of the menacing Day of Judgement, Jesus brings the message of the Kingdom of God, and this is something new and different from that; (b) Instead of the magical power of an eschatological sacrament with water, Jesus proclaimed the spiritual power of the eschatological order of the Kingdom which has already broken in. And this was a characteristic of His teaching obscured by the later tradition. In Otto's own words:¹ 'He is the eschatological saviour. Only thus understood are all His deeds and words seen against their right background and in their true meaning. Directly or indirectly, they are all borne up by the idea of a penetrating and redemptive divine power. This idea had its immediate correlate in the new God whom He preached, not the God who consumed the sinner but One who sought him; the Father God, who had come near to men out of His transcendence, who asked for a childlike mind and a childlike trust, who freed not only from fear of the devil but from all fear and anxiety, who filled the entire life with childlike freedom from care.'

How far then did our Lord share in the current views about the Kingdom? Otto's reply is:² 'The Kingdom of God is and remains for Christ the future Kingdom of the final age, thought of in strictly eschatological terms,

¹ p. 83 (E.T., p. 107).

² p. 123 (cf. E.T., p. 155).

following on the "Messianic Woes", following on the Divine Judgement. But what distinguishes His eschatology from that which had preceded it is, on the one side, that He already lives in the present active miracle of the final age, that with clear eyes He sees this as something which is already coming into being and growing up around Him. He knows Himself to be supported by His powers already pressing on as an advance guard, and by their support He works and preaches. On the other side, by His works, words, parables, charismatic conferring of power, He mediates to a circle of disciples, following in His steps, a contact with this miracle of the transcendental as a personal possession.' This is what is meant by the now familiar phrase 'realized eschatology'.

Otto has brought this conception to bear upon many passages in the Synoptic Gospels so that they shine in a new light. With what illumination many of the Parables can now be studied Professor C. H. Dodd has tried to show in his important book, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, the first English book to make effective use of Otto's reinterpretation of the eschatological idea in the teaching of our Lord. Are we then to say that Otto has rescued eschatology from apocalyptic? That the teaching about the new age of God's sovereignty is dissociated from the pageantry in which those visionaries delighted who described in language drawn from ancient myths celestial conflicts between principalities and powers? This would be going too far. But while allowing that apocalyptic provided forms in which the thought of Jesus about Himself found expression, Otto refuses to allow that our Lord's consciousness of a unique mission either arose from or received its true explanation from this source. This leads us to a brief notice of what many will regard as the most vulnerable part of Otto's book—his treatment of the relation between the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man in the thought of Jesus.

Unlike most writers on this subject Otto finds the origin of the term Son of Man as used by Jesus in the Book of

Enoch. He thinks that this book originated in Galilee, where some Iranian speculations were adapted to the Jewish expectations of national deliverance about the middle of the century before Christ. Now we have already seen that Otto accepts the evidence of the Gospels that Jesus claimed to be Messiah, and that he identified Messiahship in His own person with the figure of the Suffering Servant of God. But the Messiahship of Jesus was not the ancient Jewish national figure, hence the term Son of Man is used to represent that future and transcendent category to which also the Kingdom of Heaven belongs. But how can a man travelling, teaching and working in Galilee belong to that heavenly order? The answer is that just as Jesus taught the paradox that the future Kingdom is yet in a sense already present, so he taught His disciples to see the hidden relation between the earthly Jesus and the Son of Man who as such was purely future. The relationship was real but paradoxical; it was proleptic. Jesus was the anticipatory Son of Man. Otto applies the term 'post-existential thinking' to this mode of thinking which places one in anticipative relation to a being which has not yet come into existence. Moreover, he asserts that this conception lay ready-made in the Messianic tradition of Enoch. 'The idea was that a powerful preacher alike of righteousness, the coming judgement, and the blessed new age, a prophet of the eschatological Son of Man, would be transported at the end of his earthly career to God; that he would be exalted to become the one whom he had proclaimed, in the literal sense that he himself would become the very one whom he had proclaimed. But that also meant that his activity even during his earthly life was nothing else than the proleptic activity of this very redeemer.'¹ If Otto's claim, that this was actually the doctrine of the Book of Enoch, were sound he would have established a most remarkable and significant parallel to the idea which meets us in the Gospels. But in view of R. H. Charles'

¹ p. 175f. (E.T., p. 213).

treatment of the text of Enoch lxxi. 14, Bultmann¹ has brought a severe indictment against the whole structure of this part of Otto's book. Let this be made clear, however. Otto does not suggest that Jesus' consciousness of mission issued from such a previously formed apocalyptic idea. It issued from the constitution and essence of His person. 'Under contemporary and historical conditions, however, it necessarily clothed itself in that form.'² Again: 'He was dependent upon apocalyptic tradition, but He himself can scarcely be called an apocalypticist. He is completely lacking in interest in the speculations and oddities of apocalyptic preaching. All His interest attaches to the eschatological redemptive counsel of God as such.'³

If space remained it would be interesting to show how Otto links the Last Supper with the message of the eschatological order of the new age. But we must limit ourselves to a single point. It has often been pointed out that whereas in Mark's account of the words spoken by our Lord at the Supper the covenant idea is prominent, this is apparently lacking in the Lucan account. One of the most striking suggestions in Otto's discussion is his reasoned statement for finding in Luke's original source a direct continuation from Luke xxii. 19a to 29-30. The passage then reads:

'He took a cup, gave thanks and said: Take this and divide it among yourselves. For I say unto you: Henceforth I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come. And after He had taken bread and given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them saying: This is my body, and I appoint unto you in covenant the Kingdom, as my Father has appointed it unto me in covenant that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom, and sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.'

Here the Covenant and the Kingdom are united, and the eschatological note is as clearly heard as it is in Paul's tradition of the institution of the Eucharist, 'Ye do proclaim the Lord's death until He come'.

¹ *Th. R.* ix. (1937), pp. 22ff.

² Otto, p. 176 (E.T., p. 213).

³ p. 179 (E.T., p. 216).

Enough has been said to indicate how much there is in Otto's last and greatest book to stimulate all keen students of the Gospels. We need not point out in detail the lines of investigation that may be followed. As the older and far too sharp contrast between the eschatological and the ethical on the one hand, and between the eschatological and the mystical on the other, is seen to be without justification in the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, must not the whole question of the relation between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel be considered afresh? May we not also have reason to reconsider the alleged conflict between the teaching of the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle of St. John in the matter of eschatology? Probably Otto has quickened interest in problems that were not immediately in his mind, and even supplied a clue to them by his insistence upon the doctrine of 'realized eschatology'.

W. F. HOWARD

THE NECESSITY OF THE CHURCH

FOLLOWING upon the 1937 Conference Report on 'The Nature of the Christian Church' comes Dr. Newton Flew's Fernley-Hartley Lecture on the same subject.¹ This Methodist pre-occupation with the Doctrine of the Church is shared by responsible leaders of other communions. Dr. Denney sounded the note of warning as long as thirty years ago. 'The Church', he said, 'is suffering in all Protestant countries at the present time from the persistent disparagement of it by preachers. We have run it down as if it had no vital relation to real Christianity, and the lesson has only been too well learnt.'

The Address of the Conference of 1929, having Dr. Denney's words in mind, declared, 'We have had our fill of disparagement of the Church from those within and without'. It is significant that in our generation the attitude of many Free-Churchmen has been profoundly changed.

Professor H. H. Farmer writes, 'Rightly understood, the old watchword is true, there is no salvation outside the Church'.

Dr. Garvie follows suit: 'The definition of religion as the flight of the alone to the Alone is essentially false. Religion has been too much regarded as an individual and private matter.'

Dr. Micklem (Principal of Mansfield College) like Isaiah, 'is very bold'. 'While thanking God with full hearts for His gifts and graces bestowed upon us through the last hundred years, we should pray God that before another hundred years have passed, there may be no Congregational Union'.

This new note was sounded by none more trenchantly than by the late Dr. P. T. Forsyth. He was appalled to see in how many of the Free Churches 'the sense of the Church

¹ *Jesus and His Church: A Study of the Idea of the Ecclesia in the New Testament.* By R. Newton Flew, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 6s.)

was becoming extinct'. Here are typical utterances: 'The Church is no mere voluntary organization. The Church is more than an organization; it is an organism.' 'Religious liberty is not so much a right of the individual as of the Church. Liberty belongs to personality and to the Church as a great collective person wherein each single person finds himself. The Church, not the individual, is the correlate of Christian truth.' 'The Victorian Nonconformist Churches were conventicular. They were an aggregate of family pews, and they did not go much beyond the notion of individual or domestic religion. They had not the national, the universal, the apostolic note.' 'There is a freedom of the Church, which contradicts the very notion of a church. A churchless Christianity is but a pale and ineffectual religiosity.'

The astonishing thing is that it should ever be necessary to vindicate the divine nature of the Church. The Apostles' Creed equates belief in the Holy Catholic Church with belief in the Holy Ghost, the Communion of Saints and the Forgiveness of Sins. The Nicene Creed, recited at the Holy Communion, similarly regards belief in one Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church as of the essence of the Faith. Can it be said that in practice we have maintained the perspective of the Creeds, and regarded faith in the Church as being on the same level of importance as belief in the Holy Ghost, the Forgiveness of Sins or the Resurrection? What are the reasons for this defective appreciation of the nature and necessity of the Church? They are three in number, and closely linked together.

I. THE LURE OF THE HALF-TRUTH

In most matters our national sense that there are two sides to every question saves us from wilful partiality. It is in religion that one-sidedness tends to prevail. Truth is never simple. It is at least as complicated as the spectrum. Nobody thinks of its various colours as being 'inconsistent'; they are complementary, and in combination make up light. We

may be sure that short-cut solutions will be short-lived. They are expedients rather than solutions. Human history is largely the record of man's hypnotization by half-truths. Form and spirit, order and liberty, grace and free will, faith and works, mysticism and discipline, idea and institution—'between the fell-incensed points' of these mighty opposites, it is hard to maintain a perfect balance on the razor-edge of truth. Truth is like a chariot designed for two horses. It is much easier to drive one horse than two; the high-mettled steeds do not always run well together; they may even kick out at one another! Nevertheless the chariot was made for two horses.

Methodists have less excuse than most for one-sidedness. Few leaders have had a more virile distaste for half-truths than Wesley. Dr. Horton called him the sanest of the great reformers. Wesley felt the richness of Christian truth to be too great to allow of the simple solutions favoured by lesser and unbalanced men. 'A good Methodist', he said, 'would be as inward as a Quaker and as outward as a Pharisee.' He blended the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness. He refused to separate what God had joined, namely, the Gospel and the Church. Not perfectly in logic, but most wholesomely in life, he united the Pietist and the Churchman. The conjunction of belief in the authority of an organic Church with insistence upon the value of personal experience is precisely what has given to Methodism its peculiar place in the Church Catholic. Alas! Wesley's professed followers have not always observed this saving two-sidedness.

A famous Methodist preacher of the last generation laid it down that 'Puritanism' meant 'that if a believing soul was fifty miles from a parson and one hundred miles from a church and a sacrament, he need not be half an inch from Jesus Christ'. 'This', he continued, 'is the profoundest interpretation of Christianity itself.' It would not be easy to match that passage if one were in search of dangerous half-truths. A moment's reflection, apart from any adequate appreciation

of the logic of history, would have saved him from this sort of ready-reckoning. 'The believing soul' in question, is an abstraction. There never was, and never could be, such a soul. 'How shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent?' 'Believing souls' are not found among the Andaman islanders, the Dyaks of Borneo, or the cannibals of Fiji. They are only possible in an environment which has been evangelized. They pre-suppose the presence and activity of the Church. Indeed, it is only the immensity of our debt to the Church that permits us, for a time, to ignore or deny it.

An ex-President of the Methodist Conference was recently reported as saying in Wesley's Chapel, 'Religion is the most personal thing in the world. None of these things (creeds, sacraments or sermons) can give or secure the living truths on which our souls depend. God is the enemy of all second-hand religion. You cannot possess a truth by transmission from others'. Here again is the old plausible half-truth. In the realm of the natural sciences we take it for granted that there must be a vast second-hand element. Nothing could be more futile than for a student to start out as a scientist *de novo*. And even in spheres which are considered to be more 'personal' the same is true. In painting or music a close filiation binds the present to the past. The genius of a Wagner was inspired and developed by a passionate absorption of the technique of his great predecessors. Similarly it was through playing 'the sedulous ape' to the masters of English prose, that R.L.S.'s own style became articulate. 'The more extensive, therefore, your acquaintance is with the works of those who have excelled, the more extensive will be your powers of *invention*, and what may appear still more like a paradox, the more *original* will be your conceptions.' Thus spoke Sir Joshua Reynolds. There is inevitably in religion, as in the sciences and arts, a vast 'second-hand' element. This is true even in the case of religious geniuses; and most people are not geniuses.

Of course, there must be a personal element in religion. It is not *merely* inherited. A passive or conventional acceptance of the past is not enough. A personal quest must save us from indolent parasitism or mechanical uniformity. It may be objected—Does not God speak directly to and through individuals? We answer, 'Yes, but through *what* individuals?' In emphasizing the innovations and reforms brought in by great creative personalities, it is often forgotten how much they owed to the past. Men like John the Baptist or St. Paul do not come out of the void. They are the products of a long spiritual culture and passion. It is precisely these epoch-making originals who illustrate God's providential laws of heredity and environment. A John the Baptist or a St. Paul could not issue from a backward idolatrous tribe. So, too, Luther, Wesley, Newman, Booth were products of the Church. They were born and bred in it. True, they rebuked, challenged and reformed it. But apart from the impulse they received from her character and teaching, they would have remained unknown. The Church is the mother of her reformers.

II. PREJUDICE AGAINST THE 'INSTITUTION'

The second cause of the depreciation of the Church is the prejudice against the *Institution*. Short-sighted men have supposed that by belittling the *Institution*, they were defending the significance and sanctity of personal faith. Let it be admitted that there have been times when the importance of the external and institutional has been exaggerated. *Abusus non tollit usus*. The world being what it is, and human nature being what it is, the institution plays an absolutely indispensable role in the guarding and transmitting of religion. This service is rendered at a price. So is everything. Those who hanker after a celestial and immaterial perfection have forgotten their creaturely state. Otherwise forms, outward organization, tradition, would not be grudgingly regarded as concessions—a sort of second-best or necessary evil. The Church is our mother—not an intruding step-mother.

The Church is not a *pis aller*. It is as necessary to the Gospel as the body is to the soul. We have no experience of pure spirit or mere body. No one has ever seen a purely spiritual action or a merely bodily action. Everywhere the two act in some sort of union. There is always this tension, this giving and taking, this hostility and friendship. The balance of health is difficult to maintain, but that is all the more reason why we should hold on to the ideal—*mens sana in corpore sano*. Between body and spirit there may be friction and check or mutual liberation and expression. The one futile thing is the attempt to jump out of our skin. The *Institution* is inescapable.

Suppose a youth proposes to become a doctor. To begin with, the very idea of being a doctor is not self-induced or conceived *in vacuo*. It comes to him from a developed society which has provided interesting exemplars. Seeing their work, their attainments, their honourable role in society, the youth is stirred to emulation. But how is the gap between emulation and achievement to be bridged? Apart from existing medical institutions—schools, universities, hospitals, text-books, the accumulated research and technique of eminent professors—he could not enter upon his chosen career. He must link himself up with an appropriate establishment, become inspired by its atmosphere and traditions, settle down loyally to its time-honoured discipline in class-room and hospital ward. Thus a doctor comes into being. The institution, of course, cannot compel an unwilling man to be a doctor; or *impose* the taste for a medical career. Yet through it medical enthusiasm is stimulated. And to become a competent practitioner is conceivable in no other way. Nor should that apprenticeship be regarded as a mere corridor leading to professional status. That exacting curriculum is not a preliminary; it is the very vocation itself in process of realization. It is evident, then, that the *Institution* is strictly indispensable to the realization of the *Idea*.

This law is supremely exemplified in Religion. Strangely

enough it is in this sphere that good people are especially prone to be impatient of the contingent, the temporal, the visible. They are obsessed by the desire for the Absolute—the union of the pure human spirit with the Spirit of spirits. It would be well for such as aspire to transcend the inexorable conditions of mortality, to remember that the most spiritual of the Gospels is also the most sacramental. Forsaking inaccessible heights—‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God’—St. John stoops to the palpable and consoling fact of the Incarnation—‘The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.’ Similarly St. Paul, the daring individualist, nourishing a spirituality so rarefied as almost to break away altogether from the earthly historical Jesus, is also the uncompromising institutionalist, laying the greatest stress upon the Church as the Body and the Bride of Christ. He who has been called ‘the patron saint of Protestantism’ is now claimed by Professor Anderson Scott as the begetter of Catholicism. ‘What God hath joined together let not man put asunder.’ The Spirit and the Bride must not be divorced. The Institution is as necessary to the Idea as the Idea is to the Institution. Christian history is the fabric woven out of these two strands.

It is objected that institutions inevitably gravitate downwards. Certainly the Institution has its dangers. It may not only preserve the idea ; it may fetter it. There are in institutions (as in individuals) elements which tend towards corruption ; there are also elements which counteract this downward pull and aspire to higher levels. Bishop Butler said, ‘The form of religion may indeed be where there is not much of the thing itself but the thing itself cannot be preserved without form’. Decadence in the Institution is not inevitable ; if it were so, Christianity is not a religion that fits human nature or human history. Through the Institution (the Church) with its sacred books, worship, sacraments, doctrines, traditions, fellowship, discipline, propaganda, the Divine Idea has realized and transmitted itself. The development of Christian

doctrine and the survival of the Christian religion over nineteen centuries, are inconceivable except through the agency of the Church. Personal salvation itself is normally mediated through the Church. The doctrine of the Church as 'the extension of the Incarnation' means that the Body of Christ (the Church) is as necessary to God's redeeming purpose as the Body of Jesus was to Him in His incarnate life. As Professor Micklem puts it, 'The Church is not a voluntary organization like the Oddfellows, or a trade union or a literary society or a university; the Church belongs to the ultimate structure of the world'. In a word, the Gospel needs the Church just as the Church needs the Gospel.

III. AN EXCESSIVE INDIVIDUALISM

The final obstacle to a worthy conception of the Church is an *excessive individualism*. We are told that there can only be one ultimate; that ultimate being the *ego*. This is an oversimplification. The geometrical figure that does justice to the complexity of human things is not the circle with its one centre, but the *ellipse* which is a blend of two circles having *two* centres. The appreciation of the precious qualities of this figure would save us from many logomachies. It would save us, for instance, from the theoretical opposition of personal and social claims. To debate which must take precedence, the individual or the society, is like asking the old question, 'which came first, the hen or the egg?' The question is worse than academic. It is incapable of answer. What we do know is that in human experience hens and eggs are most intimately associated. There would be no eggs but for hens; and no hens but for eggs. This hoary conundrum is no bad guide to the understanding of the organic relationship of individual and society

Broadly speaking, fine societies produce fine personalities; and in turn, fine personalities make fine societies. Great thinkers, artists, scientists, musicians, are not produced in Timbuctoo or Tierra del Fuego. It takes an Israel to produce

an Isaiah or Jeremiah. It takes an Athens to produce a Plato, an Aristotle or Sophocles. Only out of such soil as Elizabethan England could flowers like Shakespeare, Raleigh or Sidney spring. It is not too much to say that no country but England could give birth to a Thomas More, a Stanley Baldwin, a William Temple, a Lord Cromer. Society is *creative*. It is not just a vehicle or transmitter; it is a living fountain.

A good deal of the current disparagement of the Church results from the use of *inadequate metaphors*.

A leading religious journalist recently wrote: 'Where religion so often goes wrong is in mistaking the machine for the power by which the machine should be run.' The metaphor suggests that the visible Church is a machine—i.e. an ingenious piece of inert mechanism—cylinders, cranks, pistons and cog-wheels—waiting for the introduction of extraneous power. Such a metaphor is worse than inadequate—it is seriously misleading. One would not call even a human family 'a machine'; it is an organic creative matrix. The metaphor of a tree would be more appropriate. A tree is a vital unity; roots, trunk, branches, twigs, leaves, buds, cells, are all members one of another. The tree grows, assimilating the energies of earth and air, and puts forth more twigs and leaves. Every leaf is in living relationship with every other leaf, and with the tree as a whole. 'The whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love.' This is what is meant by 'the unity of the spirit.' Mechanical metaphors cannot do justice to organic life. They treat the members of the Church rather as peas kept in proximity by being contained in the same vessel, than as leaves on the same tree or organs in the same body.

At bottom these inadequate metaphors spring from an artificial conception of personality. They belong to the individualistic age. The Church is to many but a group, or a

pious club or brotherhood. The question of questions at this hour is whether the Church is just a group of sympathetic collaborators, constructed by Christian men, or whether it is Christ's Body growing, selecting and organizing men into His Spirit. It may have both these aspects. Which predominates? And which does more to make the Church the Church? Dr. Forsyth, inspired by Maitland's edition of Gierke, insists that the Church has 'the Unity of a corporate personality, indwelling and creative, a unity whose bond is not provided by organization but by an organizing life, by the only kind of life that organizes persons as such, by the distinctively Christian principle of the interpenetration of persons and their cohesion in a supreme personality—the principle of the Christian Triune God.'

No true society can be formed by simple addition. Twice one is more than two in the world of human realities. A society is more than its units united. The reality of such a social unity as personal is hard to grasp, because we have been nourished in the atmosphere of individualism. This individualistic tradition is one which both Church and State are outgrowing. Even now it sounds archaic and belated. It is curious that so many of those who have grasped large corporate conceptions of the State, are reluctant to apply them to the Church. For this sense of the Church as a Church is the Christian counterpart of the new social consciousness. We are coming to realize that *personality is social*, that it is created by fellowship, that in fact the best definition of personality is 'the capacity for fellowship.' Suppose an infant of three years old (furnished with the means of nourishment) were placed upon an uninhabited island. At the end of seventy years would we find a human being? Deprived of communion with fellow mortals, that infant would fail to achieve humanity. Intelligence, moral elevation, spiritual awareness would remain undeveloped if not non-existent. It is only the truth to say that self-consciousness itself is gained through communion with kindred spirits. This vital

truth of the social nature of personality is secured by the Christian doctrines of God and of Eternal Life.

Very significantly Dr. Forsyth relates the nature of human personality to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. The fundamental dogma of the Faith declares that God is One. Yet in that unity there is a mysterious three-foldness—Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Speaking with reverence and a deep sense of human inadequacy, we believe that God is a Divine Society in Unity, a Unity in Society. Moral relations, the relations of lover and loved, have existed from all eternity. God need not go outside Himself to find the perfection of His moral being. God is not the Eternal Lonely; He is the perfect society needing for His beatitude no being external to Himself. The Absolute is the home of relations. Here then at the thrice-holy centre of the universe, Personality is Social. This truth is also guaranteed by the doctrine of Eternal Life. In Plato's day the question was asked, 'which is the greater, the Individual or the State?' It was replied that the Individual is the greater, because while States are born and die, the individual soul is immortal. This argument, giving the individual priority over the community, seems to undermine the doctrine that personality is socially created and conditioned. What is the Christian solution? A popular hymn gives the answer:

Crowns and Thrones may perish,
Kingdoms rise and wane,
But the Church of Jesus
Constant will remain.

Earthly empires pass, but the Church of God abides for ever. That is to say, in the eternal order, the Church Triumphant, the City of God, there will flourish the same vital intercourse between persons in community. Heaven is the *societas perfecta*, the communion of blessed spirits. In that society souls achieve their perfect being through common worship, order, fellowship and service in the light of the

Beatific vision. Thus the basic truth of the social nature of personality is impressively guarded by the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of the Church Triumphant—the creative community of the redeemed.

The leading principles of this paper are well illustrated in the words of St. Paul to Timothy. 'I call to mind the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and thy mother Eunice, and I am persuaded that in thee also. Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that Thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands.' Deeply understood, there is no more crucial passage in the whole Bible. What were the sources of Timothy's religion? The answer is clear—country, race, family, the Church (of which St. Paul was the commissioned agent) and finally his own personal and responsive faith. Here in true perspective we are shown how religion is normally transmitted. Inheritance and environment play their providential part as well as individual faith. The seemingly rival categories of society and individual, past and present, external and internal, institution and spirit, are transcended, or rather are fused into a living and harmonious unity. Timothy's faith was his own ('unfeigned') but it was also the faith of the generations before him. There was a large 'second-hand' element in it. It was his, and therefore not just the same as theirs. Apart from them he would not have had it. Yet it was not imitated or conventional. He had stirred up the gift that was in him, exercised himself unto godliness. His faith was theirs as well as his; his as well as theirs. It is as though St. Paul felt it necessary to remind the young disciple that the good things he possessed and believed were not invented or discovered by him. In this pastoral declaration we see the whole St. Paul, with his Galatian and Ephesian elements reconciled. Was not the same process true of John Wesley? Sensitive grateful, he was the last man to belittle the 'second-hand' element in his religion. Country, Church, ancestry, family, Charterhouse, Oxford, Priesthood, missionary

adventure, Moravians—apart from all these Wesley could not have been the man he was. This complex of forces was the pre-condition of Aldersgate Street. Even Aldersgate Street illustrates the law that there is a vital social element in salvation. For it was in a meeting of the religious society to which he went 'very unwillingly,' that Wesley found personal release and integration. That is, Wesley's conversion (as well as his fundamental character) vindicates the corporate as well as the personal element in religion. And in spite of all the provocation of events he never surrendered this wholesome duality.

A full realization of the necessary inter-action of the institutional and the personal would have a salutary effect upon the Methodist Church to-day. Recoil from the one-sided 'totalitarianism' of Russia, Germany and Italy must not be permitted to land us in the opposite error of exaggerated individualism—the 'negative' individualism which leads to a continually minimizing conception of doctrine, order, ministry, sacraments, discipline. It is worth remark that many who are ardent collectivists in economics and politics are content with *laissez faire* in religion. Even after 'joining the Church', and therefore entering into an organic relationship, they still claim to find the law of their being in the priority of their individuality.

The view of this article is that the Church is an *integral* and *necessary* element in religion; that a vital and essential operation of religion is effected through the corporate association and in no other way. (If the whole religious transaction is achieved within the solitariness of each individual soul, it follows that whatever depends by its very nature upon the organic association of Christians, cannot be vital, however venerable or useful it may be. It is significant that in the case of the Quakers extreme individualism is fittingly mated with the rejection of sacraments.)

A strenuous belief in the organic Church is the missing factor in Methodism. The lack of it stultifies our activities

at every turn. An adequate doctrine of the Church would make a vast difference to ministers and laymen alike. It would re-vitalize the ministry, give reality to the Sacraments, revolutionize Sunday-school teaching. It would heal the scandal of thousands of Sunday-school teachers who are not members of the Church. It would materially check the drift of adolescent scholars. It would make the Service for the Reception of New Members a glorious and decisive means of grace. It would impart a new vitality to our Church Courts, Leaders' Meetings, Quarterly Meetings and the like. Instead of 'membership' being the vague and meagre thing it so often is, it would become life's dearest and most honourable bond. It would discourage the wasteful and chaotic sectionalism that prevails in our local churches. It would make of Holy Baptism the objective symbol of an incarnate social life. It would transform the atmosphere of public worship. True Christian worship is rooted in the conception of a corporate society. The psychology of much of our public worship is really built on the conception of an appeal to individuals. It would make an end of the popular superstition that a man may 'go' here or there or nowhere, and yet regard himself as a Christian still. It would render impossible such a confusion as 'a man can be a good Christian whether he is a member of the Church or not'.

Let us never forget that apart from the Church we should not have known Christ or the way of Salvation. Apart from the Church the Faith will not be handed down to our succeeding race. Apart from the Church Christ cannot fulfil Himself. In Baptism we were received into the Church—'we receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock . . . 'and pray that he may abide through life a faithful member of His holy Church'. We have other loyalties—to school, party, union, city, king and country. But this is the holiest of all ties—the one on which our salvation and the salvation of the world depends. The Church, in a word, is necessary not only to the *bene esse* of the Christian Religion, but to its *esse*. A

man who is not striving to be 'a faithful member of His holy Church' cannot be a Christian. He may have some excellent moral qualities (so have Buddhists and Mohammedans), but he has no right to the Christian name. 'Rightly understood', says Dr. Farmer, 'the old watchword is true, there is no salvation outside the Church.' *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.*

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT

THE long-debated subject of the Reunion of the Churches does not lose its interest. The average Christian layman, to whatever communion he belongs, is in sympathy with it; he is attracted to steps towards common action or worship between the Churches; he is concerned that Christianity is not playing the part in his world which, in his opinion, it ought to play; and he cannot understand the reasons which make the leaders of the Churches so cautious about any kind of mutual approach. 'Why cannot we all join up, and get on with our proper work?' The danger is lest he should think his leaders so lukewarm, or so conscious of difficulties which he cannot see, that he should in despair dismiss the idea as impracticable.

But is this really a danger? Is not the real task which we have to pursue the task of cultivating our own denominational life and bearing our own denominational witness, in spite of all the unhappy results and formidable perils of a divided Christendom? This is in fact the opinion of many competent persons. But a book on the subject has recently appeared by Dr. H. L. Goudge, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, which ranges him definitely on the other side. 'If ever there was a time when the Church of God needed to be one, the present is such a time; for the situation is full of menace to us all. . . . It is not only that we waste time and energy in controversy that are needed for warfare with the true enemy, or that Christian communions are often rivals rather than allies. It is even more that the quality of the Christianity we have to offer to the world is sure to suffer while we are separated from one another.' Moreover, as the author informs us, although the book was written 'almost in its entirety' before the Edinburgh Conference last year, one can see the influence which it exerted on its author in chapter after chapter. The book has the further advantage

of being written in an almost conversational style. The author uses the first person singular throughout. This brings him, as it were, into personal intimacy with the reader; and those who know him will at once recognize the combination of friendliness and combativeness, the conviction that what you want from him is the strongest and even the most provocative statement of his position, so that you may state your own case with equal frankness and force. When you know there is no malice, why keep the button on the foil?¹

The book, however, differs from most which have been published on the subject, because Dr. Goudge is writing mainly for members of his own communion; and this for two reasons; because 'in the Reunion Movement the role of the Anglican communion ought to be a great one', and because 'there is a danger that our efforts for Reunion may do the *Church of England* (my italics) harm rather than good'. Then why should not others leave the book to the communion for which it was written? Firstly, because a book written with this purpose is bound to be specially illuminating on the Anglican attitude, and hence, for those who feel that to understand the other side is essential, of great importance. Secondly, because all through the book runs a contrast between the Catholic and the Protestant; and those who, unlike the author, cheerfully accept the second name, will wish to know what a writer in his distinguished position thinks of them. The book is avowedly controversial. 'If the Movement for Reunion is to go further, controversy—though the right kind of controversy—is our immediate and unescapable duty.' 'The more vigorous it is, as well as the more charitable, the better.' And in all controversy the first duty is to find out what our opponents think about themselves; the second, to find out what they think about us. The book is thus an apology for the Catholic position as the author understands it.

¹ There is unfortunately no index for these 330 pages. The reader must make his own index as he goes along.

He avows himself a Liberal Catholic rather than anything else. He is very far from regarding all Anglicans as Catholics. 'Catholic and Protestant elements in the Anglican communion are pretty equally balanced.' But he often writes as if Protestants were to be identified with Free Churchmen or Dissenters. The Protestant is one who 'seems to desire a private and individual salvation without reference to any union with the Church'. His is a purely individualistic and subjective religion, which 'renders the corporate witness of the Church impossible'. 'The Protestant's union with God through Christ depends on faith alone, and is not bound up with membership in any corporate body.' 'They suppose that the ministers of the Church are created by the ascended Lord simply by the gifts which God has directly bestowed on them, and that therefore nothing like ordination can be necessary.' The author allows that 'if Catholics have borne the best witness to the Church, Protestants have borne the best witness to the Word'. He repudiates the idea that 'the great Nonconformist theologians of England are to-day individualists in religion'; and he seems to admit in one passage that his criticism may be 'too severe'. 'No one who knows anything of the great Protestant communions can suppose them to be merely aggregations of individual believers.' But it has still 'been the grand error of Protestantism to suppose that individual religion comes first, and that corporate religion grows out of it'.

On the other hand, to the Catholic, the Church must come first. 'Always the Christ is to be the Saviour of the Church, and of the individual by his faithful membership (of it). Apart from the Church, the title [which ?] has no meaning, and those who have no belief in the Church should not employ it.' The Church 'is a visible redeemed community, chosen by God out of the world, and always to be distinguished from it'. It is a people which lives by faith in the divine promise. 'It is so to stand for God that the rest of men can be judged by their attitude towards it.' 'By the One Holy

Catholic and Apostolic Church, it (the Church of England) means the great visible institution whose continuous life can be traced down the centuries, in its contrast with the communions in the past and the present which have separated from it.' So it is with the ministry. 'If Roman or Orthodox priests come over to us, they are not re-ordained; if Protestant ministers join us, they must be.' But alas for the unity of Catholicism; if Anglican priests go over to Rome, they are treated as if they were Protestant ministers.

Now, a great deal of this will be more or less familiar; but Dr. Goudge has felt it worth while to set forth his own conception at length; and I have made the above quotations so as to guard myself from the suspicion of unfairness in representing what is to him of supreme importance, the full statement of the Catholic position. But there are three points involved in Dr. Goudge's argument which have not always been prominent in these discussions; to these I would call attention in the rest of this paper.

I

First, as regards the Church itself; the visible and continuous community. 'In the divine purpose it is one and only one; and it is necessary for salvation that we should belong to it.' That is a very serious assertion to make. If, as Dr. Goudge goes on to quote, 'no one can have God for his father who has not the Church for his mother', it is surely imperatively necessary that we should know the exact territory and frontiers of this community. What, then, is this visible Church? The question is the more important because the word is so often used, unconsciously as it would seem, in different senses. Even Dr. Goudge speaks of 'the great Protestant Churches'; and the relation of the Churches to the Church is one that is never very carefully considered. In New Testament times, indeed, the matter was perfectly clear. There could be no doubt then as to who were members of the Christian Church and who were not; just as in the

early days of Methodism or the Society of Friends, there could be no doubt as to those who belonged to them. The same thing may be said about the members of a club or a political party. No one would join the Church in its early days who was not prepared to meet its very exacting claims. The Roman answer is equally clear. The Church is a body of men professing the same faith, participating in the same sacraments, under the governance of the Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth; in other words, all who recognize and obey the authority of the Pope. This supplies what is on the whole a quite workable test. But what is to be said if the Church includes all who are baptized into the Triune Name, and having been so baptized are accustomed (more or less regularly) to receive the Eucharist from a ministry claiming to be apostolic? Can such a Church be usefully called a visible community at all? Has it any communal life? Are we to say that a man has God for his father and belongs to the visible Church if he has been baptized and sometimes, for whatever reason, receives the communion from a duly ordained minister, but not otherwise? Plainly, this will not do. The reply may be made that the visibility of the Church resides in its ministry. The clergy are at least recognizable. As Dr. Goudge reflects, 'he has documents to prove that he is a member of the Apostolic ministry'. But these documents are not recognized by two out of the three great branches of what is known as Catholic Christianity; and if they are essential, the ministries of the 'Protestant Churches', which do not possess such documents, disappear. On the other hand, if we allow the Anglican claim, as we find it here, that the Church is a visible body because it includes all those (presumably discernible from the rest of mankind) who are in communion with bodies claiming an apostolical ministry (however the members of some of those bodies may disallow the claim), and no others, can it be seriously contended that outside such a Church as this there is no salvation? And can it be contended that such a Church, paying such a price

for its visibility, necessarily supplies that comradeship and fellowship without which the individual is left in paralyzing and Protestant isolation?

The truth is that in this book we are dealing with two quite distinct views of the Church: first, a body possessing a hierarchical ministry, which was instituted by our Lord Himself, and whose continuous existence and governance through nineteen centuries is a witness to its importance and a guarantee of the correctness of its teaching; and second, a society which takes the individual into its fellowship, trains and protects him, and makes possible a salvation for him which otherwise he could never attain. These two views of the Church may be held to overlap. They are certainly not identical. If we incline to the first, the majority of those who hold it would deny that Anglicans are members of the Church at all (save perhaps of its *soul*, as Protestants may be, but not of its *body*¹); if to the second, we are only asserting what would be asserted, though perhaps in more guarded terms, by the majority of Protestants.

II

The second point to which reference must be made is the vital continuity of the Apostolic Church with the Judaism of the Old Testament. 'It is there that we read of the foundation of the Church.' 'Failure to grasp the continuity of the Church before and after the Lord's coming is disastrous in its results.' 'The most characteristic belief, next to belief in Israel's redeeming God, is the belief in the Church.' 'In a word, the Jews believed in God and in Holy

¹Dr. Goudge of course recognizes this and appeals firmly from Rome to Scripture. But while his references to the ministry in the New Testament are of great value, he cannot be said to prove that the three-fold ministry, as deemed essential by Anglicans, is to be found there; still less in the teaching of our Lord: and his own expressions, 'many besides Timothy and Titus *must have* received from the Apostles power to ordain', and 'St. Barnabas *no doubt* received it when he was sent to deal with the Church at Antioch' (*italics mine*), seem to admit that the very evidence we need is unfortunately lacking.

Church.' 'Yahweh founded the Church, according to the Bible story, when He called Abraham to leave his country.' And the importance of all this lies in the fact that 'no one acquainted with the Old Testament ought to think either that "the Church" means an invisible body of believers, or that prophecy is the only form which the Christian ministry may be expected to take'.

Now, no one will deny that the New Testament writers (or the majority of them) were Jews, regarding the Old Testament Scriptures with unbounded reverence, and convinced that our Lord (as He said of the law) came not to destroy but to fulfil. Moreover, the New Testament word for the Church (*ecclesia*) is also used in the New Testament and the Septuagint for the Hebrew words '*edah* and *qahal*, assembly or congregation (Acts. vii. 38). But it must not be forgotten that these words, when they do not refer to *any* assembly or meeting, religious or otherwise, refer not to the nation as a whole, but to a religious gathering of the nation, and they are specially common in the Pentateuch (and in the 'P' sections) where reference is made to the community in the wilderness; and this is what Stephen had in mind in the passage referred to above. On the other hand, it is to the whole people or nation (*am*, not *qahal*) that the great promises are made—to Abraham and his descendants; nor do the prophets, referring either to the destruction or the restoration of Israel, ever speak of the *qahal*. To say that the Holy Assembly was a fundamental article of Israel's faith would be a quite groundless assertion; the *qahal* only appears in the latest section of the Law, and then not as an article of faith, but as a ritual precept. After the exile, indeed, when this section of the Law was produced, Israel ceased to be an independent political community. But the Jews still thought of themselves as a nation. This is clear from the measures which Nehemiah and Ezra took, with an almost German thoroughness, to preserve the purity of the stock or blood.

It is also essential for the understanding of the great Pauline contention. The promises of God, made originally to Abraham, must, he argued, be fulfilled. But how? The Jews urged that the promise was made to the race or stock; every descendant of Abraham, if he had submitted to the process of circumcision, was *ipso facto* an heir to them. St. Paul's contention was that physical descent, coupled with a physical operation, had nothing to do with it. It is through faith, he said, that the promise is 'inherited', and Abraham, to whom the promise was made in the first instance, is not to be thought of so much as the ancestor of the race, but as the father of those who believe, Jew and Gentile alike. True, St. Paul never seems to have given up the hope that in the end all Israel would be saved—the whole race. But the appearance of the Church was not a reformation, either in the Anglican or the Lutheran sense; no one can read the profound Pauline passages on the Church and suppose that he connected its foundation with anyone but Christ. It is equally true that our Lord was born a Jew and lived as a Jew; but He was felt to sit very light to the Jewish Church of His day; in fact, to be a very dangerous and subversive influence. On the other hand, unless we are to neglect the great words to Peter (Matt. xvi. 18, a passage to which Dr. Goudge pays less attention than we might have expected), our Lord spoke of the Church as *His*; and there can be no doubt that it was regarded as *His* body, redeemed and glorified by Him.. All that was said of Israel in the Old Testament is, as Dr. Goudge points out, transferred to our Lord Himself. Individual Jews, like individual Gentiles, might find salvation in Christ; but the Jewish nation, and its 'Church' had both lost their importance.

In reply to this, appeal has been made to the references in the Old Testament to the *Remnant*. 'Sometimes the true Israelites are few, and judgement must fall so heavily that only a remnant is left.' 'St. Peter and his fellow apostles are the "remnant", to use the Old Testament word. . . . The remnant will remain like those who survived the exile to be

the nucleus of the Church of the future.' Indeed, the remnant was still smaller. On Good Friday, 'the old Israel narrowed to a point in Christ; the new Israel sprang from Him'. In truth, the references to the remnant in the Old Testament are few and uncertain. When the destruction of Jerusalem seemed imminent, Isaiah conceived the hope of a small body of survivors, just as he gathered a few disciples round himself. Elsewhere he seems to agree with Ezekiel that even the few survivors would not escape. (Is. vi. 13; Ezek. ix. 8; cf. xii. 15, xiv. 22). St. Paul's reference to the remnant (Rom. ix. 27, quoted from Is. x. 22, LXX) does not affect his main argument that 'God can take into His covenant those who were previously cut off from it' (Sanday and Headlam). The Church of Christ is thought of as the true people of God, rather than as an offshoot from its forlorn Jewish relics. At the same time, the stress which Dr. Goudge lays on the identity between the two Churches really weakens his argument. For the second Church knows nothing of the priesthood (a tribe or caste), circumcision, the Sabbath and the altar and the ceremonial law; while the first knows nothing of Baptism in the Christian sense, or Apostolical Succession, or the Eucharist, or indeed of faith, whether of the individual or the community, in the Messiah and Redeemer as the Son of God. What is left to both is a good deal less than most Protestants mean when they speak of the Church.

III

This brings us to the third and last point, the churchmanship of the Protestant as opposed to the Catholic. Is the Protestant, as such, an individualist? True, he holds that there is no complete salvation without the personal surrender of faith to God in Christ. This is not to say that religion is 'what man does with his solitariness'. 'Faith in Him as Christ and Lord' may well be 'shown by incorporation into His people.' But this is the result rather than the origin of faith. The individual (such is the Protestant or evangelical

conception) finds in Christ the forgiveness of his sins and his acceptance in the Beloved; and he is thereby joined to those who share this experience with him, as the disciples were called separately by Jesus and then found themselves members of the group which gradually became known as the Twelve. Learning about Christ, as we may do from members of the Christian community, is one thing; yielding ourselves to Him is another; and it is the second that brings us into the Church, not the first. On the other hand, for anything like real fellowship—the conscious sharing of privileges, experiences, duties, with others—we must surely look to the Protestant rather than the Catholic section of Christianity.

There are indeed three kinds of fellowship which have been manifested in the history of Christendom. There is the fellowship which is here described as Catholic, where the individual, a baptized and instructed member of the Church, believes that since the Church as a whole is the recipient of salvation, he will be safe inside it; except that he is expected to be present with others at her worship and, presumably, is in some personal contact with her ministry, nothing more is necessary; it is like the fellowship, if the word may be so used, of a personally conducted party of pilgrims. Second, the fellowship of the monastic orders or the common life, where a number of individuals unite to share a common property and live under a common rule. And thirdly, that 'togetherness in which the influence of Christ reaches not each independently but each through all', [why not both?], in which 'we must be bound in the bundle of a common life; each must be the channel of the grace of Christ to all, and all channels of the grace of Christ to each'.

The first is the fellowship which flows from the communion of the Catholic Church, described by Dr. Goudge, and it certainly avoids 'the make-believe about the merits of Christ being imputed to us individually', which is regarded as the prime error of the Protestants; but it leaves the individual an individual still even if it is a society which is responsible

for his salvation. The second, which first appeared in the early days after Pentecost, has played an enormous part in the history of Christianity, but has never been regarded as a characteristic of membership in the Catholic Church. The third, which Dr. Goudge says is 'what the Christian East means by Catholicity' has not been conspicuous in the life of the Eastern Church; it has always been regarded with great caution in East and West, as tending, like the private reading of the Bible, to endanger the due submission of the laity; while among the Anglicans, of late years, its absence has often been lamented. But it is just in those circles which have emphasized the mutual approach of Christ and the believer, and where the minister has been regarded as performing special functions, but not as a member of a superior order, that the interdependence of the members of the society and the contribution of each to the building up of the whole have found real and abiding expression. If we would see in operation the process which Dr. Goudge so aptly describes in the words quoted above, and for which with equal aptness he quotes Eph. iv. 16, we must look mainly to the Presbyterians and Independents; to those Nonconformist communities which he strangely says have been a 'curse' to our English village life; and to the various religious societies of the Middle Ages which Rome branded as heretical. For its best expression, we must turn to the hymns of Charles Wesley—no mere ideal, but carried out in the Methodist societies of his and later days.

Move and actuate and guide;
Divers gifts to each divide;
Placed according to thy will,
Let us all our work fulfil.

OR

While we walk with God in light,
God our spirits still unite;
Dearest fellowship we prove,
Fellowship in Jesu's love.

It is the Pauline ideal of 'making the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love'.

Why then this criticism from one whose desire for Reunion is as strong as Dr. Goudge's? First, because these three views, in which Protestants have not seldom been wont to acquiesce, need restatement; second, because misconceptions can never provide stable ground for agreement; and third, because a deeper understanding of the Protestant view of fellowship will surely open the way for further mutual approaches.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE

THE RECALL TO RELIGION IN THE HYMNS OF CHARLES WESLEY

IN the last years of the war and the first years of the peace Arthur Christopher Benson was Master of Magdalene. He lived not in the new Lodge, but in the old Lodge in Magdalene Street, a house turned now into sets of rooms. It was my good fortune to be one of the many on whom he showered kindnesses, and often in those years I used to call on him and go out with him walking or bicycling. You rang a bell at the street door, and after a rather long delay you were admitted: not, as you at first expected, to the house, but to a short cloister open on one side and leading to a french window. Before you passed through the french window you often heard the comfortable notes of organ music proceeding in a smothered sort of fashion from an inner room. The french window admitted you to an outer hall, dark with tapestry and crowded with pictures; from it you entered an inner waiting room, sandwiched (as you learnt later) between the Master's study and his bedroom. This room looked out on the Master's garden. It was lighted by windows partly filled with quaint Dutch painted glass of the seventeenth century. In this inner waiting room you found the Master playing, with apparent carelessness and with infinite satisfaction, a small organ.

What was he playing? Well, as often as not, Charles Wesley's hymns to such tunes as *Stella*; and, if you glanced round the room you saw at least half a score of busts and images of the great John himself. Benson was the son of an archbishop, but he had been a boy in Lincoln Chancery and a young man in Methodist Cornwall; and in those congenial atmospheres he had acquired, as he often told me, a devotion to the Wesleys. To be sure, he treated them as disrespectfully as he treated everyone else of whom he was fond. He dissected, criticized, mocked at, and misunderstood them with

conscious but entertaining perversity. Nevertheless, he returned to them with affection and veneration, and he liked nothing better than to play these hymns and to quote them.

As I used to go into that dark and slightly mysterious house and hear the familiar tunes, I got many and many a time the feeling that something had assured me of the unshaken truth of essential Christianity. Those years of war were years of much argument, much questioning, much doubt, much despair; but to hear the tunes which cried out the words of Wesley's faith was, at least for me, to feel myself confirmed mysteriously in the faith itself. Why this happened no doubt any fifth-rate psychologist could explain. Those tunes and (to use one of Wesley's favourite expressions) the latent words I had first known and had unforgettably learnt in the remote Lincolnshire wolds. The tunes and the faith still enjoyed the security, the certainty, that then were features of all my schoolboy life. Wesley's hymns to *Stella*, *Euphony*, *Sovereignty*, *Irish*, Justification by Faith, the plan of salvation, the gift of God, the wages of sin, it was all as certain to recur on Sunday as the football match on Saturday, an illicit drive over the Wolds about every other week, the sheep fair in March, and the roundabouts in the Market Place in May. The plan of salvation and justification by faith were as much in the nature of things, as self-evident, and as much to be taken for granted as the benevolence of the Liberal party, the malevolence of the Conservatives, the wisdom of the minority on the Board of Guardians, and the iniquity of the local solicitors.

Yes, it all may be so. I think nevertheless that there was more in it than that; and to that I shall in due course return. Meanwhile I ask you to remember that sense of security as we take a look at the hymns themselves.

It will be difficult not to spend too much time over the form and structure: difficult especially for me who most Sunday nights in term endure *Hymns Ancient and Modern*

with the wretched versification, doubtful grammar, and questionable theology thereof, much of it nowadays most appropriately set out in what I may call the jazz music of Vaughan Williams. Or, if we seek relief from *Ancient and Modern*, there is the *English Hymnal*, better it is true, but stuffed out with second-rate creaking translations of Greek and Latin hymns, fusty as a secondhand Lewis and Short, more like the meritorious exercises of the classical sixth than Poetry, the handmaid of Piety. Worst of all there is the self-conscious preciosity of *Songs of Praise*, mistaking quaintness for strength and antiquarianism for orthodoxy. From all such let us turn to Charles Wesley, and as we linger in the outer court let us notice, first, a simple but useful virtue which Wesley practises in almost every hymn. I mean that he binds his verses not merely by rhyme, not merely by consecutive thought, but by verbal references which, without our noticing them, lead us from line to line. Wesley gives us no jumps in language to distract our attention from what he and we are saying. I choose a verse at random.

Thou waitest to be gracious still;
Thou dost with sinners bear,

the second *Thou* carries us on from the first

That, saved, we may Thy goodness feel,

we of this third line is *sinners* of line two,

And all Thy grace declare.

Thy grace, a repetition of the idea in *Thy goodness* of line three.

It is the technique that the careful reader notes in Macaulay: every sentence is linked with the preceding sentence by a word or an allusion. This word or allusion throws the reader back to something which he has not had time to forget and so knits Macaulay's paragraph, like Wesley's verse, into one.

You value this fully if you have suffered from what I may call the ill-regulated verse of the next century: say George Macdonald's morning prayer.

Lord, let me live and act this day,
 Still rising from the dead; [Why *still* ?]
 Lord, make my spirit good and gay—
 Give me my daily bread.

Admirable sentiments, but a thought disconnected. The connexion between goodness and gaiety and rising from the dead needs looking for and exposing, if indeed it exists; whilst the connexion in thought between *daily bread* and what precedes seems to consist only in this: that *bread* rhymes undeniably with *dead*. It is the verse of a tyro: the verse that you and I write. I slide over the (to me) horrible posing childishness of praying to be gay. Wesley, I think, I hope, never descends to the triviality which pretends to be simplicity.

But let us compare Wesley with hymn-writers who were no tyros. In two writers at least in the nineteenth century we may perceive a mastery of the art of versification which excludes the grosser faults: Bishop Walsham How and Bishop Wordsworth at least knew that *of* is not a very good word on which to allow an accent to fall. Neither of them, we may think, would have written the shocking lines in that popular hymn of the Rabbi Felix Adler, 'Sing we of the golden city'

It will pass into the splendours
 Of the city of the light.

Let us see then what they can do.

Wordsworth can do well. 'Hark! the sound of holy voices' is honest verse and wholesome doctrine, even if its language is not so classically scriptural as Wesley's. But this is exceptionally good for Wordsworth. More often Wordsworth takes a scriptural metaphor and beats it out too thin in line after line, or worse still takes a metaphor of his own composing and does the same to it. He has a fatal facility for verse. He does not, like George Macdonald, have to think as far as *bread* to get a rhyme with *dead*; he gently expands every notion till it is sure sooner or later to rhyme with anything that may be about. Gospel-light for Wordsworth does not

merely glow: it glows with pure and radiant beams. Living water does not merely flow: it flows with soul-refreshing streams. The bishop leaves nothing to the imagination. He drags out, shakes out, and ticks off every commonplace extension of every commonplace thought.

Until it was set to a feeble dance tune by Vaughan Williams, Bishop How's 'For all the saints' was a hymn with merit. It is perhaps a trifle too luscious and romantic to ring quite true for those of us whose human treasure is in fact in heaven. There is more than a touch of King Arthur and the Round Table about the distant triumph song, the golden evening brightening in the West, and Paradise the blest. But that is nothing. When we reach the last two verses, they ring dreadfully false and thin. The exactness of the geography of earth's bounds and ocean's coast does not fit the apocalyptic gates of pearl, and then with this unreal picture of the saints rising from land and sea and entering the gates of pearl we come suddenly on what should be no Arthurian romantic stuff: the doxology to the Holy Trinity. Compare this combination of Malory's tinsel and a young lady's water colour of a sunset with Wesley's virile presentation of the same communion of saints under the same metaphor of an army. I can scarcely bear not to quote it all, but you know it.

One army of the living God,
To His command we bow;
Part of His host have cross'd the flood,
And part are crossing now.

His militant embodied host,
With wishful looks we stand;
And long to see that happy coast,
And reach the heavenly land.

Not a word wasted. It is as spare and taut as the warriors it describes. Yet if more spare it is far more daring than How. Listen:

Even now by faith we join our hands
With those that went before,
And greet the blood-besprinkled bands
On the eternal shore.

There is a communion of saints indeed.

Our spirits too shall quickly join,
Like theirs with glory crowned,
And shout to see our Captain's sign,
To hear his trumpet sound.

If you want a military metaphor, that is it. No distant triumph song stealing in the ear or countless host streaming through gates of pearl, but

Shout to see our Captain's sign,
To hear his trumpet sound.

Not in vain for Wesley had Balaam prophesied: 'The Lord his God is with him; and the shout of a king is among them.'

If we study Wesley's use of metaphors and similes we shall note that a very large proportion of them come directly from Holy Scripture or are reminiscences of Holy Scripture. John Wesley (you remember the Preface) praised his brother's hymns for their exposition of 'Scriptural Christianity'. The praise of course was merited but might have been extended; in metaphor and simile, not less than in doctrine, Charles Wesley deserves that high and unfashionable commendation: *scriptural*. This constant reference to the classical language of the faith—the written Word of God—gives Charles Wesley's hymns themselves a classical poise and accent which marks them off, I believe, from all other modern hymns. It saves Wesley from the deplorable bathos and feeble amateurishness into which almost all other hymn-writers fall at times and from which some never escape. Great poetic genius is needed to use metaphor and simile in verse. Homer, Virgil, Milton can do it:

Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, \

and so on. But we ordinary folk, flying to metaphor and simile in our own strength, merely make ourselves ridiculous. Let me illustrate. The perfectly well-intentioned J. D. Burns attempts a metaphor of his own invention and at first fares pretty well.

Thy ways are love—though they transcend
 Our feeble range of sight,
 They wind through darkness to their end
 In everlasting light.

But, encouraged, alas! by this success, he proceeds:

Thy thoughts are love, and Jesus is
 The loving voice they find;

Christ is indeed the Word, but what follows?

His love lights up the vast abyss
 Of the Eternal Mind.

We plunge from the sensible (I cannot say the sublime) to the ridiculous, perhaps indeed to the blasphemous. 'The vast abyss of the Eternal Mind' is not a reverent or a complimentary expression—even if you spell 'Eternal Mind' with capital letters and light it with a voice. That is what happens when a man of ordinary ability leaves the classical metaphors of Holy Scripture. Charles Wesley, who could do it with less risk than most hymn-writers, takes the risk less often than most. And when he does seem to me to have no scriptural authority, I believe that it is almost always because my knowledge of Holy Scripture is too exiguous to detect the reference.

I do not say that the non-scriptural metaphor always fails. Even the wishy-washy Faber succeeded with it once, in his one good hymn, because he kept it simple and short:

Through life's long day and death's dark night,
 O gentle Jesus, be our light,

but for one success there are a thousand failures.

Baring Gould is a writer for whom, despite my better judgement, I have a sneaking affection, and 'Onward! Christian Soldiers' is not to be written off hastily; but compare his treatment of a scriptural phrase with Wesley's treatment of the same phrase.

Crowns and thrones may perish,
 Kingdoms rise and wane,
 But the Church of Jesus
 Constant will remain.

Gates of hell can never
 'Gainst that Church prevail;
 We have Christ's own promise
 And that cannot fail.

How does Wesley say it? Before we read him we may be sure he will avoid a bad stress like that in the last line 'And' that cannot fail'. He will avoid the ugly 'gainst' and the needlessly emphatic '*that* Church' as if there were a multitude of churches. Notice the climbing effect of his verse. He saves his scripture till the last line; and boldly exaggerates the Gospel word from a negative resistance to a positive attack. Notice, too, the subtle use of alliteration: *w* in the first half of the verse, *m* in lines five and six, *s* in lines seven and eight.

When He first the work begun,
 Small and feeble was His day:
 Now the word doth swiftly run,
 Now it wins its widening way;
 More and more it spreads and grows
 Ever mighty to prevail;
 Sin's strongholds it now o'erthrows,
 Shakes the trembling gates of hell.

The Gospel word *prevail* is wrested from the use of the gates of hell—the gates of hell shall not *prevail*—and the Church does not merely resist the gates, the prevailing word shakes them. It is the strong finish, all saved for a knockout blow. Every verse of that superb hymn ends in such a line. All the preceding lines lead by steps to an emphatic concluding phrase.

Verse one ends

All partake the glorious bliss!

Verse three ends

Him Who spake a world from nought.

Verse four ends

All the Spirit of His love!

These other fellows appear at once as mere children and bunglers when we can, as here, compare their treatment of a theme with Wesley's treatment of the same theme.

I do not except Newman. 'Praise to the Holiest' is almost a great hymn. It has some very great verses; but you must have lamented over the feebleness of its ending. After presenting in awful language the theology of the sacrifice of Calvary, Newman ends as a Unitarian might have ended, as indeed a Unitarian did end, his Passion hymn. The second Adam, the higher gift than grace, God's Presence and His very Self—to what does it lead Newman? To this: the sacrifice of God Himself on the Cross is to teach us to bear suffering and death. True, no doubt; but what a perfect anti-climax! The Unitarian Martineau has it more passionately, for he can go as far as that.

O Lord of sorrow, meekly die:
Thou'lt heal or hallow all our woe,

and

Great chief of faithful souls, arise,
None else can lead the martyr-band.

It is not to the Roman Cardinal that we must look to supply the deficiencies of the Unitarian's faith. It is to one of ourselves, blessed be God. Hear Wesley.

Come, then, and to my soul reveal
The heights and depths of grace,
The wounds which all my sorrows heal,
That dear disfigured face.

Before my eyes of faith confest,
Stand forth a slaughtered Lamb;
And wrap me in Thy crimson vest
And tell me all Thy name.

Jehovah in Thy Person shew,
Jehovah crucified!
And then the pardoning God I know,
And feel the blood applied.

I view the Lamb in His own light,
Whom angels dimly see,
And gaze, transported at the sight,
To all eternity.

Or this

Endless scenes of wonder rise
From that mysterious tree,
Crucified before our eyes,
Where we our Maker see;

Jesus, Lord, what hast Thou done?
 Publish we the death divine,
 Stop, and gaze, and fall, and own
 Was never love like Thine!

Never love nor sorrow was [Note that verbal link.]
 Like that my Saviour show'd:
 See Him stretched on yonder Cross,
 And crushed beneath our load!
 Now discern the Deity,
 Now His heavenly birth declare!
 Faith cries out, 'Tis He, 'Tis He,
 My God, that suffers there!

Contrast Newman's mean conclusion

To teach His brethren, and inspire
 To suffer and to die.

Newman's is a humanitarian tinkling. Wesley's is the catholic, evangelical, orthodox, holy faith.

Here I must turn aside for a moment to triumph in Wesley's scholarship. To that we owe a feature of our eucharistic worship which neither the confused and truncated canon of the Roman Mass nor the Anglican rite has preserved. The epiclesis takes us back to the earliest and purest celebrations of the Supper of the Lord. This link with primitive catholicism which Rome and Canterbury threw away, Wesley restored.

Come, Holy Ghost, Thine influence shed,
 And realize the sign.
 Thy life infuse into the bread,
 Thy power into the wine.

I need not quote more. Wesley gave us what Canterbury now struggles illegally to recover and what Rome stupidly lost in the Dark Ages and still rejects in these days of her wanton and self-conscious schism from ancient orthodoxy. We have almost nothing to learn even liturgically that we cannot learn from Wesley.

It is tempting, and you see that I cannot resist the temptation, to linger over the flawless forms of Wesley's hymns. Let us now move to consider two or three of the more obvious features of the content of the hymns. If you will suffer the

paradox, we will begin by noting one feature that is not prominent. Last summer I read and re-read the whole of Isaac Watts's hymns. I seal my lips lest I begin to praise them, but I mention one quality which distinguishes them sharply from Wesley's. Watts, time and again, sets the faith of the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection against its cosmic background. He surveys the solar system, the planets, the fixed stars, the animal creation, from the beginning to the end of time.

He surveys the whole realm of Nature, as in an immortal phrase he has described it, and at the centre he always sees the dying and crucified Creator. Methodist editors have drawn freely on Watts to supply hymns of this type: I name only one, 'God is a Name my soul adores'. You remember it:

A glance of Thine runs through the globe
Rules the bright worlds, and moves their frame;

and so on. Methodists have borrowed these hymns to supplement Wesley, because Wesley had comparatively little to say on that subject. Wesley is obsessed with one theme: God and the Soul; for the stage in space and time on which that drama is set he has little concern. He is always at Calvary; no other place in the universe matters and for him the course of historic time is lost in the eternal now. This is partly because of the urgent poignancy of his own evangelical experience. It is partly because his education, if more polished in classical form than Watts's, was less wide, less philosophical, less sweeping.

You find, therefore, that in the age of Deism Wesley is, of all writers, the least Deistic, the most uncompromisingly, the most exclusively Christian. There is little touch of 'Natural Religion' in Wesley. Do not misunderstand me. I do not charge Watts with Deism and Natural Religion. Watts, in that earlier generation, was near enough to the profound evangelicalism of seventeenth-century Calvinism to survey the whole realm of Nature and still to remain invincibly

Christian; but fifty years later the experiment would have been more dangerous. It was perhaps well for Wesley that, in his more Deistic generation, he wore so constantly the blinkers that restricted his view to the essentials of the Christian faith. A cosmic view in his time was more difficult than in Watts's to combine with passionate orthodoxy.

We note then the exclusively Christian and New Testament quality of Wesley's hymns. Truly he says of himself (accurate in every word):

My heart is full of Christ, and longs
Its glorious matter to declare!
Of Him I make my loftier songs,
I cannot from His praise forbear.

Take one rough, and not exhaustive, test. Of the 769 hymns in one edition not fewer than 84 have as their first word the Name: Jesus, Christ, or Saviour: One hymn in every nine *opens* so. In *Songs of Praise* the proportion is more like one in twenty-four. I have not gone a step lower, but I suspect that Wesley is one of the hymn-writers least well represented in Unitarian hymn-books.

You find in Wesley, therefore, comparatively few occasional hymns, for social, national, or human occasions. The index of your old hymn book teaches you that. God and the Soul: 'clear directions for making your calling and election sure, for perfecting holiness in the fear of God';—this is Wesley's concern. We find Sinners exhorted, Mourners convinced of sin, Persons convinced of backsliding, Backsliders recovered. We find believers in many postures, and the society in several. We find formal and inward religion distinguished. We find the goodness of God, the pleasantness of religion, and the four last things, Death, Judgement, Heaven, and Hell described. Wesley means business all the time. He is in deadly earnest. He has no leisure for frills and furbelows. He makes no concessions to human interests and the sentimental associations of religion. He condescends to write a morning hymn, it is true, and enriches the world by the glorious line,

reminiscent of Dante, 'Christ, whose glory fills the skies', but Wesley forgets the time of day before he has written far.

Take a look at the work of Percy Dearmer, Vaughan Williams and Martin Shaw as it is revealed in the Index to *Songs of Praise*. Here we find sixty hymns on the Christian Year and nearly as many on the Church and its ordinances; but by far the greatest number of the titles are such as New Year, Spring, May, Morning, Noon, Evening, Hospitals, Social Service, Absent Friends. My account is unfair because the bulk of the books is under the heading 'General', yet the contrast with Wesley remains valid and impressive. Dr. Dearmer and his friends do not arrange their hymns in the exclusively Christian and New Testament categories used by Wesley.

Do not suppose that I am merely praising Wesley and condemning Dearmer. As I distinguished Wesley from Watts, I now distinguish him from his successors. Watts sounded some notes which have been used to supplement Wesley; and more recent writers have supplemented him usefully too. But, when all is said, Wesley's obsession with the greatest things saved him, and us, from much that it is well to be saved from. Wesley's scheme did not tempt him to the vaguely religious poetising which asks us to sing

Day is dying in the west,

and chokes us with metaphorical confectionery. Nor does he indulge in those bird's-eye tours round the world which read like a versified *Holiday Haunts*.

Sun and moon bright, night and moonlight,
Starry temples azure-floored;
Cloud and rain, and wild wind's madness,
Breeze that floats with genial gladness
Praise ye, praise ye, God the Lord.

Bond and freeman, land and sea man,
Earth with peoples widely stored,
Wanderer lone o'er prairies ample,
Full-voiced choir in costly temple,
Praise ye, praise ye, God the Lord!

Still farther is Wesley from the impieties of modern Roman and Anglo-Catholic hymns. These, like the degenerate late medieval and modern papal architecture, push aside the central acts of God in Christ in favour of the imaginary adventures of sinful mortals. When I glance at these hymn-books they remind me of the beautiful blasphemy of the west front of Rheims Cathedral: there the Passion of the Son of God and His final Judgement of mankind serve as minor side ornaments to the central panel. And what is the central panel? The so-called Coronation of the Virgin, a matter with no place in history or theology or reputable legend. Precisely this blasphemy you will find in the hymn-books of certain schools, but you find it without the beauty of the Rheims blasphemy. God, as the psalmist noted, has punished their own inventions. Not only orthodoxy, but the power of writing tolerable verse has deserted them.

Wesley's obsession was with the greatest things: I do not abandon my phrase, but I want to add to it. Despite my profound veneration of his verse there are two or three things about Wesley's literary form that I regret—his use of compound adjectives like *soul-reviving*, and the unhappy use of *mine* and *every* in phrases like 'this heart of mine' and 'our every so and so'. It is the same with the content of the hymns. There is one feature which, to a Calvinist especially, seems unworthy of Wesley, though it is, to be sure, the defect of his qualities. Sometimes he speaks as if our feelings were of greater importance than I believe them to be. Occasionally a verse might give a hasty reader the impression that salvation almost depended on our feelings. It is perhaps the Pelagian shadow which has sometimes accompanied Arminianism, but it is an accidental and detachable shadow. For Wesley himself the substance of revealed religion was too overwhelming to leave him at the mercy of his feelings, and it is but fair to Arminianism to remember that there were eighteenth-century Calvinists who suffered like Arminians from an over-emphasis on feelings about salvation. It was

difficult for a man with Wesley's vivid experience not so to speak of experience as to make it take too prominent a place in the life of men who lacked the massive foundation of his instructed faith. Yet we may wish that by writing some hymns differently he had protected his ignorant and sensitive followers from the tortures of their ignorant sensitiveness.

I end by returning to my first inquiry. Why do Wesley's hymns confirm and restore our confidence, and build us up securely in our most holy faith? It is no doubt partly because they show us something of the life of one of the pure in heart who saw God. We may not see God. We cannot fail to see that Wesley saw Him. Purity of heart: we are near Wesley's secret there; scriptural holiness, purity of heart inevitably reflected in his clear mind and limpid verse.

But I think I see another thing. Those very limitations which we have noticed in his hymn-book: his exclusion of all but God and Soul; his indifference to historical setting, cosmic backgrounds, times of day, seasons of the year; his frank neglect of any serious attempt to insert the gospel into natural religion, to tinge and colour normal human activities and occasions with a Christian hue; his ruthless inattention to everything that St. Thomas Aquinas wished to do to the natural order and the divine order—in all of this limitation we see one source of Wesley's power. Concern with all these things is no doubt needed in each generation; but the more appropriately and fully the work is done for a particular generation the more dated and transient it is. Wesley leaves all that aside. He is obsessed with the greatest things, and he confirms our faith because he shows us these above all the immediate, local, fashionable problems and objections to the faith. We move to the serener air. We sit in heavenly places with Christ Jesus; and simply to be taken there—that is, after all, the supreme confirmation of faith.

What we have felt and seen
With confidence we tell.

This same obsession with the greatest things lifts Wesley and us, his readers and singers, above all ecclesiastical divisions and discussions into the realm of religion. 'The Pleasantness of Religion', formal religion, inward religion, it is on these lines Wesley's thought moves, not on lines of valid and invalid, regular and irregular, historic and personal, priestly and prophetic ministrations. Wesley had his ecclesiastical opinions and could express them with his customary vigour and clarity; but as he tells us himself, he escapes with joy from all such things to religion. The Bicentenary is indeed a recall to religion, to religion not merely when opposed to irreligion, but when opposed to religiousness, to theological gymnastics and ecclesiastical politics. I end with words which, for some reason, none of our editors will permit us to sing. You know them, but you shall hear them all again. In them Wesley tells you plainly what I have fumbled in my saying about that ampler air of pure religion: our security and our fellowship and our duty there.

CATHOLIC LOVE

Weary of all this wordy strife
 These notions, forms, and modes and names
 To Thee, the Way, the Truth, the Life,
 Whose love my simple heart inflames,
 Divinely taught at last I fly
 With Thee and Thine to live and die.

Forth from the midst of Babel brought,
 Parties and sects I cast behind;
 Enlarged my heart, and free my thought
 Where'er the latent truth I find;
 The latent truth with joy to own
 And bow to Jesus' name alone.

One with the little flock I rest,
 The members sound who hold the Head
 The chosen few, with pardon blest,
 And by the anointing spirit led
 Into the mind that was in Thee
 Into the depths of Deity.

My brethren, friends and kinsmen these
Who do my heavenly Father's will;
Who aim at perfect holiness,
And all Thy counsels to fulfil,
Athirst to be whate'er Thou art
And love their God with all their heart.

For these, howe'er in flesh disjoin'd,
Where'er dispersed o'er earth abroad,
Unfeigned unbounded love I find
And constant as the life of God;
Fountain of life, from thence it sprung,
As pure, as even, and as strong.

Joined to the hidden church unknown
In this sure bond of perfectness,
Obscurely safe, I dwell alone,
And glory in the uniting grace,
To me, to each believer given
To all Thy saints in earth and heaven.

BERNARD L. MANNING

AUTHORITY AND FREEDOM

THE question of the relations between these two notions is evidently one of the most formidable issues of our times. We have seen the breakdown of old authorities and the sudden setting up of new. These have acted on the celebrated principle of

The good old rule, the simple plan
That they should seize who have the power
And they should keep who can.

The accomplished fact has often become the last argument in politics; ideal justice has given way to party expediency; the assertion of certain indefeasible rights of man has been countered by the equally vigorous positing of their subordination to the demands of the State or Church. The inviolability of the individual conscience has given way before the finality of the decision of some court, sacred or secular. Revolutionary zeal has turned into despotism; free thought becomes dogmatic.

Such antitheses as these have appeared suddenly before our eyes, upon a scale and with such violence as have rarely been seen in history. It is our business to examine some of these contrasts, to see if they can be reconciled, or in any way brought into perspective. For the clash between authoritarian and tolerant ways of thinking and practice may be the end of ordered civilization, just as their reconciliation may prove to be the next stage in human progress.

1. According to etymology authority derives from *author*, ship, production or origination. This is a familiar belief and the source of many common notions about authority. According to Locke, a man has a right to that wherewith he has mixed his labour. Hence arises the obvious defence of a society in which the stress is laid upon production, to the neglect, probably, of equitable distribution. Producers take precedence of consumers, both in time and in law. Similarly

in religion primary authority is given to the originator and constantly the attempt is made to get back to the intention of the Founder. He is thought to exercise a prerogative over the nature and course of the religion of which he is the only begetter.

But it is not evident why there is any 'natural' or other right to the product of one's own industry. One's abilities are not self-given; at the most they are self-cultivated, and that often in such a way that a man is, in Goethe's phrase, a fool of his own making. And in any case they are not necessarily given for one's own advantage, but rather for common ends, or possibly for the 'Glory of God'. Hence there is no inherent right, in the fact of origination, to the exercise of authority in the disposal of one's product. At the most there is a presumption that the author will best understand and employ what he produces. But that mankind does not hold that bringing forth establishes an absolute claim to enjoyment is shown in our treatment of Nature, which after all is our nursing mother whom we yet despoil.

Similarly in society we put limits to the rights of authors to enjoy the fruits of their own efforts, notably in the restriction of copyright to a period long enough to induce copious production. But we also think it right to repress unwanted or pernicious products, such as indecent books or pictures. Just so the dead hand of founders of religions and framers of constitutions has to be wrenched away, so that the appeal (say) to St. Peter, or Henry VIII or John Wesley is inconclusive. We say that we must enquire not what these authors did say in their day, but what they would have said in the present situation. And that must be partly a matter for conjecture. Consequently we are apt to appeal not merely to what the authority was, but to what it became, that is to some principle of development. So, it may be said, it does not so greatly matter what Christianity originally was—for it was subject to certain cramping or warping conditions—but it is imperative to know how it grew, for here is revealed

a persistent tendency, a direction which is normal or orthogenetic.

2. This conclusion easily leads to the belief that it is possession that gives warrant for the exercise of authority, especially when possession is prolonged. Thus Lord Hugh Cecil argues that long holding of property establishes right to it, and that consequently dispossession is theft (*Conservatism*, pp. 98, 120, and 196-7). Possession is nine—or even ten—points of the law. Here is evidently an appeal to accomplished fact, and so to history. This is a favourite method in both Church and State, supported often by an invocation of St. Paul to certify that the powers that be are ordained of God. Consequently arise the heroic labours of historians to prove historicity, continuity, succession and the like. The Divine Rights of Kings and Popes are painfully and precariously supported by such evidence.

Plainly such arguments are valid only if it is known beforehand that certain channels—institutions, ordinations or what not—are guaranteed. Apart from direct and continuous revelation on this point, it can itself be known only by historical researches. Hence we have the spectacle of history trying to justify itself by history—a curious procedure. Thus Augustine—we are told—justifies the Church by the Bible, and the Bible by the Church—a vicious circle. The real appeal however is to tradition, to what has always been believed. This, when not mere superstitious awe of the past, is usually defended on pragmatic grounds. The presumption is that what has worn well is right, a test which Matthew Arnold applied to literature. This pragmatic argument may take two forms: (a) from the possession of power, (b) from its fruits.

3. Power is often thought to be self-justifying, especially in a world which has become intoxicated by the enhancement of its power. This view is perhaps the chief modern heresy, which is shown by Mr. Leon to infect our life in all sorts of ways and to a great depth. It is exhibited in its nakedness

by Nietzsche, who, intentionally or not, certainly manages to convey the impression of a glorification of war. Our own Carlyle, in his cry of 'The tools to those who can use them', seems often to be acclaiming sheer masterfulness, whilst religious people often echo the famous argument known as Pascal's Wager, and recommend conformity to religion on grounds of prudence, since the odds are in favour of existing holders of power.

These various defences of force rest upon the recognition of a natural superiority or inferiority in human beings, even if grounded on efficiency in the use of such force. There is a native aristocracy of ability, which it is wisdom to acknowledge. The step is easy to appeal to fear or prudence on behalf of dictators, whether in Church or State. Hence arise imperialisms both temporal and spiritual.

But surely the argument from efficiency points the other way. Since we cannot know beforehand who belongs to a natural aristocracy, we must wait till ability has been tested. This requires at least toleration. 'Let all grow together till the harvest' when we cannot separate wheat from tares. Otherwise there is a great destruction of potential ability. The tendency of unlimited power is to crush out other forms of ability, so that empire decays from lack of vitality. The difference between Roman imperialism and Democratic toleration is being exhibited before our eyes in the destinies of the English-speaking peoples.

The effects of Toleration upon English life have been towards its great enrichment, the softening of the divisions between ranks and classes, and the consequent unity of society. Hence there has been no sharp alternation between Government and anarchy, religion and atheism, as in so many Continental countries. The way opens for the notion of legalized and accepted power, i.e. consent.

4. Such legalized and accepted power is often described as properly constituted authority. The late Lord Balfour defined democracy as government by consent. It must,

however, be active, not passive consent, generally expressed by some form of voting. The puzzle then begins where sovereignty, in the sense of supreme authority, lies. No one seems to know that in respect of the British Empire. Does sovereignty belong to the King, to Parliament or to the electorate, or to them all taken together? Evidently sovereignty is diffused, except under dictatorships, and even these make a pretence of being supported by plebiscite. Election in some form comes to be regarded as conferring authority. Hence constitutions, establishments and representative government, with the final aim of government of the people, by the people, for the people. The people becomes sovereign.

Its government, however, is bound to rest upon majority decisions, and these are apt to be casual and precarious. Further, such decisions are liable to fail unless they carry the acquiescence of practically the whole people. The failure of prohibition in America is a case in point. Even given unanimity there remains Carlyle's problem 'Given a nation of fools, to produce a wisdom from their concerted action'. This gibe may perhaps be countered by Lincoln's remark about the impossibility of fooling all the people all the time, but evidently some criterion beyond numbers is needed to justify the assertion of authority. Hence we are brought to a choice between counting and weighing heads, and so to the authority of experts.

5. Weightiness of judgement is commonly supposed to come from experience. Experience makes expert, we say. This idea is regarded as especially English and, in religion, Methodist. But evidently it needs explication. We must distinguish between quantity and quality of experience, between repetition and richness. Even then, very much depends upon ability to profit by experience, for facts do not carry their own interpretation. The expert is one who can understand experience and draw lessons from it. The authority of such persons is increasing with the complication of modern

life and the specialization of work. Indeed the tendency is towards government by bureaucracy, and this is perhaps the chief danger to society to-day.

For even experts are ~~not~~ necessarily wise. The expert knows more and more about less and less, and is liable to become a narrow specialist, or even a clever crank. There is the further difficulty that it takes an expert to discover the expert, and so we are led to reliance upon nomination. Some measure of nomination is inevitable, and if made impartially and selectively over a wide field, is desirable. Democracy or rather representative government has sometimes been defended as the best means of finding experts. The incidence of ability or genius is not very clear, but gives support to the idea that it is fairly evenly distributed between all social classes.¹ Granted then sufficiently diffused general education to enable the people to distinguish between the expert and the quack, the judgement of common sense—understood as the satisfaction of the fundamental convictions and permanent tendencies of human nature—is decisive in the long run. This gathered wisdom can be ascertained by care and sincerity and is often given to the simple. Authority comes to be judged by its results, measured in terms of deep and enduring satisfactions.

6. Such satisfactions we otherwise described as valuations, and valuations are primarily upon fruits, not roots. The great values are to-day familiarly grouped under the heads of Truth, Beauty and Virtue, though this may not be a final account. True wisdom consists in the selection, balance and harmony of these values, which are seen to possess intrinsic authority. Butler said of conscience, long ago, that had it power as it hath authority it would absolutely govern the world. The ultimate values are the modern conscience, and the great problem is to combine their authority with power. This question is not yet solved, for the attempt to rely solely on the naked authority of the values has so far not proved

¹ Cf. Carr: *Eugenics*, pp. 105 and 134.

successful. It is clear that force alone settles nothing but the decision who is the stronger. But do values alone settle anything but their desirability?

Here we have to consult the great masters of the art of life: say the great religious founders. These (except Mahomet) appealed little to force, and little to authority in the conventional senses previously discussed. They were mostly revolutionaries or drastic reformers, trusting primarily to the intrinsic merits of their way of life, to spiritual results. They were, with perhaps one exception, laymen, who yet 'taught with authority'. We may say of Jesus Christ that to the authorities of His day He was a revolutionist, with little respect for the powers that existed; a layman meddling with things sacred; and an unlearned man setting His views against the experts. He was not a man of birth and breeding, and His home conditions were commonplace.¹

It thus appears that the values depend only secondarily upon outward and favourable circumstances for their origin, however much they may do so for their spread and continuance. It is also clear that no complete infallibility is granted to any of these sages, prophets, deliverers, for we find that history often disproves some of their pronouncements. And similarly the attempt to confine their authority to certain churches, races, individuals and the like, breaks down against the self-evidence of unchartered values. So there is constant need of re-interpretation of, and experimentation with, the values.

7. This re-interpretation and experimentation often leads to revolt against hampering conditions, and so raises the question of the right to rebel against constituted authority. Evidently there is in such rebellion a danger of the destruction of values, and the issue turns upon a calculation of consequences—of the balance of goods or evils involved in a certain course of action. There seems to be no simple answer possible, and no code or rules that can be unhesitatingly applied. Only

¹ Cf. Bishop Gore. *Jesus of Nazareth*. Chap. II.

the general principle of maximizing goods and minimizing evils seems self-evident. But it is just this action which liberates. 'The truth shall make you free,' and the same may be said of the other values. These, we have seen, need to be constantly renewed, for 'time makes ancient good uncouth'; or again, as Goethe said, 'only he is free who perpetually wins his freedom anew'.

Freedom then consists in the creation of spiritual values. All other creativity is illusory, and the use of force is but instrumental to such activity, when it is not detrimental. For creative activity is always liable to be degraded, to become inertia, and so to petrify into institutions, constitutions, laws, principalities and powers. These must be recreated by effort, tension, innovation. This at its highest pitch spells spiritual joy, and its clearest illustration is in aesthetic production, where author and act are unified. This perhaps is what is meant by the Kingdom of God. In Christianity we seem to see the spontaneity of authorship united with the authority of spiritual values. For here

Christ is the end, as Christ was the beginning
For the beginning and the end is Christ.

To put the argument of this paper otherwise: There are those who desire to establish some authority—whether originator, or possessor of power, or constituted channel, or electorate, or expert, or infallible head—as Dictator. We have just been told by a bishop that there is only one Dictator—in a world teeming with Dictators—and that is no other than Christ himself. My plea has been that there is no rightful Dictator at all, and that even Christ does not act as Dictator. He appeals to the intrinsic attractiveness of the Kingdom of God. It is true that in that Kingdom—as elsewhere—somebody must have the last word on any practical issue. And it is a matter of importance whether that court of appeal should be the author, or the actual wielder of power, or some constituted body, or some autocrat, or (still more reasonable)

a combination of all these. These are matters for politicians, ecclesiastics and lawyers.

But there is a gulf between a last court of appeal, and an infallible authority, with consequent rights of dictatorship. If there is such an infallible authority we are too fallible always to recognize it. What we have is an assured direction in which to go, a guiding star which is fitfully and dimly discerned, and a call to move steadily and courageously forward towards the light. This is the freedom which we have called the realization of the values, or in more familiar and religious terms, the showing forth of the glory of God.

ATKINSON LEE

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH—NATURE-MYSTIC

The simple page references are to the Oxford edition of *Wordsworth's Poems*.

AN examination of the many definitions of Mysticism leads to the conclusion that the Mystic is one who, as a result of deliberate, prayerful search, becomes *aware* of God in the depths of his own consciousness and gives a loving and reverent response.

It was in every case a serene conviction of the truth of Christian doctrine which inspired the Christian mystic in his search for this conscious and immediate experience of God. Such states of consciousness are 'facts' which psychology is bound to recognize and with which it must deal. In view of the gracious personalities ultimately evolved (e.g. Santa Teresa) they cannot be contemptuously dismissed as merely the result of a rather morbid subjectivism.

If the essence of Mysticism is this personal, vivid awareness of God, Wordsworth takes his place in the great brotherhood, but his 'methods', if such a word may be used of him, are not theirs. He did not, from the outset, deliberately seek the experiences and sensations which came to him. These were rather the outcome of his habits of life and manner of thought, and were ministered to him through natural phenomena of Beauty and of Grandeur. Nature was sacramental. Even in youth the ecstatic moments came to him, when his natural faculties were awed into suspense and he apprehended God in an experience simple and profound.

sensation, soul, and form
 All melted into him; they swallowed up
 His animal being; in them did he live,
 And by them did he live; they were his life.
 In such access of mind, in such high hour
 Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
 No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request;
 Rapt into still communion that transcends
 The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,

His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him; it was blessedness and love!¹

That is the 'mystic state'. The boy has become 'one with nature' in a state bordering on trance. Thought is dormant. He is out in regions beyond subjection to reason and where prayer and praise are almost banal things. There is but one, profound, luminous certainty: he is in communion with 'the power that made him' and there is naught save 'blessedness and love'.

Like every mystic, Wordsworth is possessed of a certainty as to the truth and reality of his experience which is beyond the assurance of reason or of ordinary faith. We must remember that, in his prime, he came too early to be touched by that modern scientific temper which influenced Tennyson so profoundly. 'His consistent theme is that the important facts of nature elude the scientific method.'² Thus, in 'The Excursion', he says

Nor did he believe—he *saw*,³

and that vision no logic can assail. The modern psychologist replies, 'Yes, I do not doubt for a moment the *reality* of all these sensations, but have you *interpreted* them aright? You say that what has come to you is a direct experience of God. I say that that interpretation, which may be right or wrong, itself induces the "blessedness and love". If you did not interpret the experience as one of direct soul contact with God you would not sense "blessedness and love" in the same degree'. Wordsworth would doubtless class such a critic as

One to whose smooth-rubbed soul can cling
Nor form, nor feeling, great or small;
A reasoning, self-sufficing thing,
An intellectual All-in-all,⁴

but that will not deter the questioner. The modern temper is distrustful of mystical states, not doubting the reality of them

¹ p. 759.

² A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, p. 103.

³ p. 759.

⁴ p. 485.

but rather questioning the interpretation that the mystic himself gives. Wordsworth might reply that it is the simplest explanation for a man who believes in God at all and in a sacramental aspect of life, and on that account the more plausible; that

Wisdom is oft times nearer when we stoop
Than when we soar.¹

If Wordsworth ever sought a philosophical basis for his mysticism it was perhaps in the Pauline conception of God as the One in whom 'we live, and move, and have our being'.² He does not see himself, before his experience, standing *outside* Nature, and then, for a few transcendent moments, becoming a part of it: the soul of Nature, so to speak, touching and filling his soul. Rather, he is himself always a part of Nature. The soul of Nature and the soul of man are but parts, or different manifestations of the same underlying reality, which is God, the

Soul of our Souls, and safeguard of the world.³

The mystic moment is one in which, with Nature and through her instrumentality, he penetrates to and is conscious of that awful, underlying Reality which is common both to Nature and himself.

Wisdom and Spirit of the universe!
Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought,
That givest to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion. . . .⁴

and amongst those forms and images must man himself be reckoned.

Mysticism has little to do with logical thought-forms and in part arises from a sense of their failure to satisfy the deeper cravings of human nature. This by no means implies a necessary divorce between the mystical and intellectual faculties.⁵ George Galloway reminds us that 'medieval Mysticism was a genuine spiritual movement on the part of

¹ p. 789

² Acts xvii. 28.

³ p. 801.

⁴ p. 638.

⁵ See W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, Vol. I, pp. 5-6.

men wearied with the barren dialectic of the Schoolmen, and craving a new fullness of spiritual experience'.¹ *Mutatis mutandis*, that appears to be true of every form of Mysticism. Even creeds are transcended, for the Indian *yogi* and the Mohammedan *sūfi* seek the same end, with men of such schools of philosophic teaching as those of Plotinus and the Neoplatonists. In each case an attempt is made to transcend the more familiar theological and philosophical thought-forms and to attain to an immediate experience of the Divine, and, the more perfect that attainment, the less do the distinctively Christian, Hindu, Mohammedan or Platonic backgrounds appear to count. It is true that the Christian Mystic uses Christian thought-forms in his progress. His conception of God is coloured by Christ and His atoning work, and the Cross is never far away; but these are rather aids to some experience of God which lies beyond them, and as that experience becomes stabilized, they, having served their purpose, lose much of their significance and emphasis. It would, for example, be difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the creedal basis of Christianity from the mystical writings of St. John of the Cross, and if we were solely dependent upon them for knowledge of the earthly life of our Lord our ignorance would be profound. What is, in this respect, true of the Christian Mystic is, *mutatis mutandis*, true of mystics of other faiths; so that, if there be any religion which can be described as universal, it lies in the realm of such mystical faith and experience. It is just this universality of the experience which adds to its impressiveness and helps to establish its significance. In every case the interpretation given is much the same: it is oneness with Deity, in which thought is superseded by intense feeling; but the word 'Deity' has varied *nuances* of connotation for men of differing religious backgrounds.

The mystic consciousness, then, presupposes certain sentiments, Christian, Hindu, &c., as the case may be. For Words-

¹Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 160.

worth Christian sentiments alone existed, though coloured by Platonic idealism, but we do not gather that they were profoundly, passionately held. Apparently he accepted the main Christian position, but with little fervour. He became more and more of a 'Churchman' and a conservative as he grew older. His references to Christian teaching and the Christian Church are respectful and conventional, and he has a great esteem for Christian 'piety' when he sees it. The Christian Religion is something to be professed rather than felt: a philosophy to be accepted in the interests of a contented and ordered life. I know no passage in Wordsworth's writings where the emotions kindle to definite Christian conceptions as they kindle to the fine theistic ideas in the famous 'Tintern Abbey' lines.

It would seem that, in the lustiness of his manhood, he did not find in such conventional Christianity what his heart craved. Nor was this his only disappointment. He had entertained high hopes from the French Revolution, but one by one these had been dissipated and his soul remained unfed. In a world of changing faiths and unstable human emotions and ideals, Nature continued the same, and to her, in remote spots where she remained most beautiful and most alone, more and more he turned. Surely the secret thing that he sought could be attained through her mediation! Hence those emotions which had come unsought to the boy were sought and cultivated by the disillusioned man;

when with bliss ineffable
I felt the sentiment of Being spread
O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still;
O'er all that, lost beyond the reach of thought
And human knowledge, to the human eye
Invisible, yet liveth to the heart.¹

He invites us to follow him if we, too, would know. It is a call that never falters, and the years, far from bringing doubt, but deepen conviction. In 1798, when he is twenty-eight years of age, he breaks out with impassioned conviction:

¹ p. 648.

I have felt
 A presence that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
 A motion and a spirit, that impels
 All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
 And rolls through all things;¹

and although he finds it

the most difficult of tasks to *keep*
 Heights which the soul is competent to gain,²

he himself treads those heights to the end. Not that to the close of his life he remained a great poet. His poems become conventional and the 'visionary splendour' fades from them, but the convictions of youth and early manhood remain to strengthen and comfort the maturer man. Sir Walter Raleigh says, 'He attained to a clearer and truer view of life than is granted to most poets and he paid the price of this great happiness in a great and incurable solitude of spirit. The seer is always solitary'.³ That solitude of spirit is what impresses us about the Wordsworth of later years. He is a man with a secret, and there is a sadness about him because he cannot impart it to others as he would. But he had not failed. 'She gave me eyes, she gave me ears', he sang of his sister Dorothy. That is the tribute of thousands of people to Wordsworth to-day. We may lag far behind him in insight, appreciation and understanding, but Matthew Arnold has expressed for us what all who love Wordsworth know to be true:

He was a priest to us all
 Of the wonder and bloom of the world,
 Which we saw with his eyes and were glad;⁴

and F. W. H. Myers has uttered the same thought in gracious, feeling prose: 'To those who were young children while his last years went by, he seemed a kind of mystical embodiment

¹ p. 207. ² p. 803. ³ Walter Raleigh, *Wordsworth*, p. 226.

⁴ Matthew Arnold, 'The Youth of Nature'.

of the lakes and mountains round him—a presence without which they would not be what they were.’¹

‘Wordsworth’s greatness and distinction lie largely in this: he was no mere landscape painter, with a facile pen for his brush and brilliant words and phrases for his colours. He could, of course, portray a striking scene in language that re-creates it, but his is a genius that transcends mere description. His undisputed sovereignty is not there. It lies in his extraordinary faculty of giving utterance to some of the most elementary, and, at the same time, obscure, sensations of man confronted by natural phenomena. Poetical psychology is his triumph’.² Behind the seen there is ever the far more important and impressive unseen. It is the ‘secret Power that reigns’, the ‘spirit in the woods’, the ‘gleams from a world in which the saints repose’, the

Presences of Nature in the sky
And on the earth. The Visions of the hills
And Souls of lonely places,³

that move him and waken a longing in his heart to be one with them. Being means more to him than Beauty or Grandeur. To be one with that immanent, mysterious Being brings illumination, healing and peace.

Oft in these moments such a holy calm
Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes
Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
Appeared like something in myself, a dream,
A prospect in the mind.⁴

This illumination is a gift to him through

Nature’s self, which is the breath of God.
The gift is yours,

Ye winds and sounding cataracts! ’tis yours
Ye mountains! Thine, O Nature! Thou hast fed
My lofty speculations; and in thee,
For this uneasy heart of ours, I find
A never-failing principle of joy
And purest passion.⁵

¹ F. W. H. Myers, *Wordsworth*, p. 181.

² *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. XI., p. 111.

³ p. 639.

⁴ p. 647.

⁵ p. 648.

Nature, thus loved and wooed, conducts him to her priesthood. He describes the occasion for us.

I had passed
The night in dancing, gaiety and mirth,
With din of instruments and shuffling feet,
And glancing forms, and tapers glittering,
And unaimed prattle flying up and down.

As the night passed he left the artificial lights of the ball-room for home, and, lo!

magnificent
The morning rose, in memorable pomp,
Glorious as e'er I had beheld—in front,
The sea lay laughing at a distance; near,
The solid mountains shone, bright as the clouds,
Grain-tinctured, drenched in empyrean light;
And in the meadows and the lower grounds
Was all the sweetness of a common dawn—
Dews, vapours, and the melody of birds,
And labourers going forth to till the fields.
Ah! need I say, dear Friend! that to the brim
My heart was full; I made no vows, but vows
Were then made for me; bond unknown to me
Was given, that I should be, else sinning greatly,
A dedicated Spirit. On I walked
In thankful blessedness, which yet survives.¹

Thus his destiny claimed him. He was henceforth to hold Nature to us, like the 'smooth-lipped shell' to the ear of his 'curious child'.

From within were heard
Murmurings, whereby the monitor expressed
Mysterious union with its native sea.
Even such a shell the universe itself
Is to the ear of Faith; and there are times,
I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
Authentic tidings of invisible things;
Of ebb and flow, and ever-during power;
And central peace, subsisting at the heart
Of endless agitation. Here you stand,
Adore, and worship, when you know it not;
Pious beyond the intention of your thought;
Devout above the meaning of your will.²

¹ p. 663.

² p. 518

Thereafter he remains the 'dedicated Spirit', the 'priest to us all of the wonder and bloom of the world'. His spirit is abroad to-day wherever Beauty and Grandeur are sacramental to the human heart and men are moved by 'the tears of things'; and still, for those who love him and the eyes of whose understanding he has touched,

He murmurs near the running brooks,
A music sweeter than their own.¹

W. L. DOUGHTY

¹p. 485.

Notes and Discussions

MACAULAY AS AN HISTORIAN

LORD MACAULAY'S position among writers of history has long been a matter of controversy among those whose opinions have a right to be considered with respect. There are some who place his work upon the highest rung of the ladder of achievement; others, again, judge him with extreme severity, even though constrained to accord to him a measure of reluctant admiration. Among the latter may be included so great an authority as the late Lord Acton, who describes the *Essays* as 'flashy and superficial', and as revealing the writer's 'incompetence'; though the *History* 'is wonderful', it reveals that its author 'knew nothing of religion, philosophy, science, or art', but in spite of all he is 'very nearly the greatest of English writers'.

In view of this difference of opinion it is manifest that the ordinary reader needs some little guidance in his approach to the work of the master. This volume¹ from the pen of one of the closest students of Macaulay during the last generation is therefore something more than welcome. Mr. Godfrey Davies has rendered a real service by collecting these lectures by Sir Charles Firth upon a subject on which he possessed an unrivalled knowledge. They will be found most helpful, alike by the student, who will incidentally gather some useful hints upon historical method, and to the general reader who is desirous of obtaining some reasonable idea of what history really is.

Even his admirers, of whom the present writer may claim to be one of at least forty-five years' standing, cannot do other than admit that Lord Macaulay at times wrote in the spirit of a party politician or an advocate rather than in that of an impartial historian. He is a little too apt to take a strong liking or a violent dislike to an individual on ethical or political grounds, and his whole treatment of that unfortunate's character or policy is distorted thereby. Among the objects of his special dislike are James II, Dundee, and Marlborough. In these, as in other cases, Macaulay too often allows his judgement to be determined by his prejudice rather than by an impartial reading of the evidence available. His attitude is less that of an historian than that of a special pleader. It is not so much by actual suppression of evidence as by the stress laid upon it that he arrives at his conclusions. He tends, for example, to pass lightly over anything that tells in favour of Marlborough or Dundee, and to emphasize everything that tells on the opposite side, even though its evidential value is almost *nil*. This he might very well have known had he not wilfully shut his eyes to the worthlessness of the authority cited—a worthlessness which,

¹ *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England.* By Sir Charles Firth. (Macmillan, 21s.)

in some cases, he frankly admitted elsewhere. A good example of this tendency, it is among those quoted by Sir Charles Firth, is the contrast, which the most superficial reader cannot but observe, between the treatment accorded to the relations of James II and Catherine Sedley and those of William III with Elizabeth Villiers. The former are dealt with in the severest terms, while the latter are passed over very lightly, in such wise, indeed, that it might almost be described as an *apologia*. But perhaps the worst case of misrepresentation is that of William Penn. Many readers of the *History* have doubtless wondered at the extreme severity of the judgement passed upon a man who is generally regarded as entitled to rank among the worthies of his time. This case is handled at some length by Sir Charles Firth, who shows how utterly baseless Macaulay's charges were, and completely rehabilitates the traduced Quaker. This habit is a grave defect, and a constant defect; it must, therefore, always be allowed for in reading Macaulay's glowing narrative.

As already remarked, to get the best out of Macaulay the general reader needs some little guidance, and such guidance may be found in Sir Charles Firth's volume in a form more adequate than has heretofore been readily accessible. The writer possessed a wider knowledge of Macaulay and his period than perhaps any contemporary scholar; and no one was better fitted to undertake the task which he has so effectively performed. It is a matter for congratulation that these lectures have been saved from oblivion by the dutiful care of Mr. Godfrey Davies.

Professor Firth's treatment of his subject is comprehensive and adequate, and fairly covers the ground. The opening chapter deals with the genesis of the *History*, and includes an informative *résumé* of Macaulay's judgement upon the work of his predecessors in the same field. It is interesting to note that the master himself did not entirely avoid some of the pitfalls into which he described his fore-runners as stumbling. His criticism of Hume, for example, might with a large measure of justice be passed upon some of his own work.

Under the general heading of Method a number of interesting points are brought under discussion. So far as style is concerned Macaulay certainly possessed to an exceptional degree the power of holding the attention of his reader. In this respect he has had few rivals. His style is rhetorical, that of a parliamentary rhetorician in fact—a style which does not always lend itself to the strictly historical presentation of past events. At times he impresses the reader as being more concerned to make out a case than to reproduce the actuality of things. One feature which cannot but strike the most casual reader is Macaulay's skill in portraiture. He clothes his characters in flesh and blood as few other historians have succeeded in doing, even if at times he leaves one with a trace of doubt as to the verisimilitude of the portraits so inimitably drawn. His bias, in this connexion, is at times distinctly marked. But alike in respect of men and things, the face of the country, the conditions of living and of travel, he presents

the most living pictures of England in the later seventeenth century that have yet been drawn.

One of the most arresting chapters in the book is that dealing with Macaulay's errors. Some of these errors are simply due to lack of information not then, but now available. About such little need be said, for every historical work is liable to need correction as new knowledge comes to light. But, as will be inferred from what has been said already, there are other errors due to the handling of evidence in such wise as to lead to actual misrepresentation of fact. In the case of individuals, for instance, by heightening virtues or stressing a vice Macaulay has too often produced what is rather a caricature than a portrait. This is a fault which he himself, years before the *History* was written, trenchantly criticized in a striking passage in his essay on Byron.

There is much else in this volume to which reference might be made. The chapters dealing with the famous 'Third Chapter', the Armed Forces, Scottish and Irish history, Colonial and Foreign affairs, all contain much acute and suggestive matter; while full length studies of Macaulay's handling of the characters of James II, Mary, and William III are of absorbing interest. For the volume as a whole we have little but praise; and we cordially commend it as a most suitable addition to the libraries of historical students in general, and of admirers of Macaulay in particular.

W. ERNEST BEET

THE LACHISH LETTERS

FOR three years students of the Old Testament have been eagerly awaiting the official record of the Lachish Letters, discovered by the late Mr. J. L. Starkey in the excavation season 1934-5, at Tell ed-Duweir, the site of ancient Lachish. They are now published for the Trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome under the title *Lachish I, The Lachish Letters* (Oxford University Press, 25s. net). The main work of editing them has been entrusted to Professor Harry Torczyner, of the University of Jerusalem. Mr. Starkey, whose tragic death in January last is still in everyone's mind, lived to contribute the account of their discovery. Those who were fortunate enough to see the 'letters' when they were on exhibition in 1935 will remember the courtesy and enthusiasm with which Mr. Starkey displayed his treasures.

The letters are eighteen in number, and are written on potsherds with a reed pen and in iron-carbon ink. Five of them appear to have been written on fragments of the same pot. The sender of them protests that he cannot read, and it seems from the handwriting that he employed several scribes. This suggests that the art of writing was fairly common, since he lived in a provincial town. The writing is on both the convex and concave sides of the sherds, commencing on the smoother convex, and continuing, when necessary, on the concave side, which was rougher. The script is the ancient Phoenician-Hebrew,

similar to that of the Siloam inscription, the Gezer tablet, and the Moabite Stone. By no means all of it is now legible, but what is legible is excellently written, proof again that writing was common and that scribes took a pride in their work. It is an interesting fact that the texts are in places easier to decipher from photographs than they are direct from the sherds.

The sender of the letters was one Hosha'yahu, garrison commander at a post between Jerusalem and Lachish, probably Kirjath-Jearim. The receiver of them was 'my lord Ya'ush', his commanding-officer at Lachish. They were all found at the same spot, under a gate-tower at Lachish, and it is probable that they formed what we should call Hosha'yahu's *dossier*, since it is clear that he was accused of betraying official secrets—hence his repeated protest that he cannot read, and that no one has read a letter to him!—and it may well be that he was court-martialled, and that the letters were part of the evidence. The date of the letters is the age of Jeremiah, and the statement on one of them (No. IV.) that 'we are watching for the beacon-signals of Lachish, because we no longer see those of Azekah', suggests the last days of the Babylonian conquest of the country. Of the twenty-two personal names, no less than fifteen are attested in the Bible for the age of Jeremiah; whereas only eight are found before, and only nine after Jeremiah—in the Bible, that is. An interesting fact, which may have a bearing on the origin of the Jewish community at Elephantine in the fifth century, is that eleven of the Lachish names appear in the Elephantine papyri, and that two of these, Ya'ush and Mibtahiah, have so far been found nowhere else.

Of the longer letters the best preserved is No. III., and it is no exaggeration to say that its contents are sensational. It refers on the obverse to 'the open-eyed' (*piqqeah*), and on the reverse to 'the prophet' (*nabhi*). These words evidently relate to one and the same person. *Piqqeah* is never used in the Old Testament for a prophet, though we are reminded of the familiar *rôeh* (seer), and of Balaam 'falling down, and having his eyes open' (Num. xxiv. 4). Further, 'the prophet' is wanted by the military authorities, and 'the commander of the army (Yi)khabaryahu the son of Elnathan has gone down to Egypt', evidently to secure his extradition from there. Then Letter VI. refers to a letter of the king, in which he says: 'The words of the prophet (?—the word is illegible) are not good, and are liable to weaken (*rappôth*, Infinitive) the hands, and to make the hands of the country and the city to sink.' Almost identical language is used in the Bible of Jeremiah (xxxviii. 4), who was cast into a pit because 'he weakeneth (*merappe*, Participle) the hands of the men of war that remain in this city, and the hands of all the people, in speaking such words'. More remarkable still, in Jeremiah xxvi. 20–23 there is a story of a prophet like-minded with Jeremiah, 'Uriah the son of Shemaiah—(this name also is found in Lachish IV.)—of Kirjath-Jearim', whom the king therefore 'sought to put him to death; but when Uriah heard it, he was afraid, and fled, and went into Egypt: and Jehoiakim the king sent men into Egypt, Elnathan the son of Akhbor, and certain

men with him, into Egypt: and they fetched forth Uriah out of Egypt'. Can 'the prophet' of the Lachish letters be any other than the Biblical Uriah? Letter XVI., a broken fragment unfortunately, mentions '—ahu the prophet'. The first part of the name is missing; but the end of it would suit Uriah, since in the letters the longer form of theophorous names is the unbroken rule, e.g. Yirmehayu, for Jeremiah, and, presumably, so we should expect, Uriyyahu for Uriah. That the king who executed Uriah in the Bible story is Jehoiakim is a difficulty; but on Torczyner's theory that the letters are a *dossier* accumulated perhaps over a period of years, this can be explained. The name of the official who went down to Egypt is in the letters Kbryahu—no initial *yodh* is visible on the sherd, nor is the ending *yahu* clear, though it is almost certainly right—the son of Elnathan. In Jeremiah xxvi it is the other way about, Elnathan the son of 'Akhbor. But even this discrepancy, however it is to be explained, need not stand in the way of the identification of the prophet in the Lachish letters with Uriah of Kirjath-Jearim.

All things considered, it would seem that the Lachish Letters are external confirmation of the Bible story. The epigraphist, the textual critic, and the grammarian also will find plenty in them to occupy him, since they are by far the most considerable find of the kind in the history of Palestine excavation.

C. R. NORTH

CALVINISM, OLD AND NEW

THE International Congress of Calvinists which was held at Edinburgh in July was the fourth of a series of which the first was a very small gathering in London in 1932, and the second a somewhat larger meeting at Amsterdam in 1934. It had been intended to hold the third at Edinburgh in July 1936, but by a trick of fate—or of Providence—the leading Calvinists of the world were assembled at that time at Geneva to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the first appearance of the *Institutes*; in consequence, the third Congress was held in that city while the Edinburgh one was postponed until this year. Largely as a result of this 'accident', the third Congress was the scene of a confrontation of traditional Calvinism with the new form of this Reformation creed which has come into being largely through the influence of Karl Barth. The Report of the Geneva Congress is for this reason a document of considerable importance. As the Congresses have not yet awakened sufficient interest in the Christian world as a whole for this report to be very widely read, I propose to indicate something of its contents and to say a little about its wider significance.

Part of its importance for the English-speaking world lies in the strong confirmation it gives to the suggestion made by certain Anglican writers—most notably by Brother George Every, of the Society of the Sacred Mission—that 'Barthianism' forms in some ways a present-

day parallel to the theological movement of last century associated with the names of S. T. Coleridge and F. D. Maurice. Coleridge and Maurice were rebels against what passed for 'orthodoxy' in their day, but their views were far more firmly rooted in Scripture and in the theology of the sixteenth century than similar rebelliousness usually is to-day. Barth's adherence to Scripture and to sixteenth-century theology is plain enough, but his character as a rebel against conventional Protestant 'orthodoxy' is not often very easy for English eyes to see; and it is because this Geneva Congress Report displays Barthianism in direct conflict with 'orthodox' Calvinism that it enables us to see this side of the movement more clearly.

The main subject of the Geneva Congress was the doctrine of Election, and the opening paper was one by Dr. Peter Barth on 'The Biblical Basis of Calvin's Doctrine of Predestination'. Peter Barth is a younger brother of the great Swiss theologian, and has at least one claim to distinction which his more famous brother lacks. It is often loosely said that Karl Barth is a 'prophet' who has not the capacity for methodical theology which is shown by Emil Brunner. This seems to me an opinion not at all difficult to prove mistaken—one could almost say that sufficient proof is provided by Barth's writing of his 'Church Dogmatics', and by the thoroughly methodical character which it displays on intelligent perusal. There is one type of intellectual ability, however, which is not pre-eminent in Barth or in Brunner either, but which is outstandingly present in Barth's brother Peter. This is a capacity for painstaking, patient, accurate scholarship of an historical and textual nature—a capacity which seems far more common to-day among English-speaking workers than on the Continent. It is interesting to note that this type of ability was lacking in St. Augustine, while St. Jerome possessed it to a high degree. Peter Barth is the St. Jerome of the 'dialectical theology'. His *magnum opus* is not, like his brother's, a massive original text-book in dogmatic theology, but an edition of some selected works of Calvin, in the preparation of which he collaborated with Dr. Wilhelm Niesel. These selected works include the *Institutes* in the very different forms which they took between the years 1536 and 1559. There are very few men in the world who know more than Peter Barth does about exactly what Calvin thought and said at any given stage of his career.

Dr. Barth knows also, however, how to turn all this erudition to practical account in the various controversies of the day. He intervened on his brother's side, for example, in the famous dispute with Brunner on the subject of 'natural theology'. He has also done much to make it clear that Calvin was not so indifferent to the Christianizing of the political realm and of the social order as many 'Calvinistic' opponents of the 'Social Gospel' would have us believe. In his address to the Geneva Congress he makes use of his acquaintance with all the changes which Calvin's mind went through to criticize those who follow their sixteenth-century master too blindly in his later and more rigid notions of the predestination of some men to eternal life and others to eternal death.

In the first edition of the *Institutes*, Dr. Barth points out, the doctrine of Election was expounded as part of the doctrine of the Church. It was essentially grounded in the fact that men cannot believe in Christ and enter His Church by their own power, and that it is by the Mercy of God, and only by the Mercy of God, that they are believers and members of His Body. This was at that time Calvin's essential thought on the subject, and he warned his readers against moving so far beyond it as to limit God's mercy in any way. In later editions, the idea of the election of a definite number of persons from all eternity, and the reprobation of an equally definite number, came to play an increasing part in Calvin's exposition of the doctrine.

Barth's address concludes with an expression of the opinion that only in its first form does Calvin's doctrine have a clear and unambiguous basis in Scripture. The second, harder form is not grounded in the Word of God and only in the Word of God, but is confessedly based in part on 'experience'. After the 1536 edition of the *Institutes* had appeared, Calvin had an exceedingly bitter 'experience' at Geneva of the stubbornness of men, and of the way in which the Gospel seems often to harden its hearers instead of opening their hearts to its message. It was this, rather than any deeper understanding of the Scriptures, that led him to press the human logic of predestination to its most appalling conclusion—all the while not seeing that his own heart was being hardened with the hearts of those who would not hear him.

In view of Brother Every's suggestions, it is interesting to see that the essential core of Calvin's doctrine which Barth retains is the same as that which Coleridge retains in his *Aids to Reflection*, while the type of speculation which he eschews is just what Coleridge in the same work enjoins us to eschew. Coleridge's grounds for discriminating between the true and the false in Calvin at exactly this point are not quite identical with Barth's; but F. D. Maurice comes very close to the Swiss scholar when he says that a 'theology of experience', though this has an attractive broad-minded sound at first, always becomes harsh and narrow in the end, as our experience becomes more bitter. It is only the Word of God coming to us perpetually from *beyond* experience that can give us a theology of mercy and of hope. Maurice had in mind those who attempted to raise up a genial 'theology of experience' against the cruder and more immoral substitutionary theories of the Atonement, and pointed out that these dark theories were 'theologies of experience' too. It is the same point which Barth implicitly makes in regard to predestination.

The parallel between Barth and Maurice is as strikingly brought out in one of the discussions recorded in the Geneva Proceedings. Peter Barth criticized a Dutch speaker, Dr. G. Oorthuys, for interpreting the 'pre-' of 'predestination' too literally in a temporal sense. It is not at some time in the past that 'election' takes place—it is in Eternity, which is beyond all time and 'wholly other' than time. The reply of Dr. Oorthuys was to the effect that human beings can only

think in temporal terms, so that that is how we must think of predestination, whether our thoughts and dogmas are true or not. This was exactly how Dean Mansel replied to Maurice's contention that 'eternal life' and 'eternal death' must not be thought of in terms of endless future time. This provoked Maurice to a very vehement attack on the notion of 'regulative truth'—truth which is not really truth at all, but only what we must believe for want of anything better. Maurice insisted that God is really as He reveals Himself to be, otherwise Revelation is a mockery. Karl Barth insists on this with equal vigour in his Dogmatics, where he maintains that the revealed Trinity must be the revelation of an Eternal Trinity, otherwise it is no revelation at all. It is true that Barth maintains that all 'revelation' is, paradoxically, at the same time a 'concealment' (and that to one and the same person—not merely a revelation to an 'elect' soul, and a concealment to a 'reprobate' one); but he insists that it is not a deception. His brother is simply applying the same principle when he insists that if Eternity is different from Time we must not build up a heavy structure of argument on the assumption that it is not.

Another way in which Dr. Oorthuys made use of the conception of 'regulative truth' against Barth was in maintaining that, despite the dependence of faith on God's gracious Election, we must approach people 'as if' we could make Christians of them by persuasion (or by some other form of human and deliberate 'evangelism'). Maurice and Barth have alike insisted that Election means nothing at all if it has no practical effect on the nature and spirit of concrete Christian preaching. If we really believe in the doctrine of Election we cannot attempt by our preaching or our 'apologetics' to make believers out of unbelievers. John Wesley was right in maintaining against Whitefield and Toplady that if we are to have that kind of preaching we must be Arminians. The sincere Calvinist, even on the mission field, can only preach to those whom God has made or is making believers—to those who are already God's children, blind and sinful children though they always are. It is worth noting that in his way of insisting upon this, Barth follows Maurice in stressing the importance of the Sacrament of Baptism as a testimony of God's bringing us into His Household before there is any question of our deciding or being moved or persuaded to enter it. This emphasis on Baptism has irritated many English-speaking Protestants, but it gives further confirmation of the soundness of the interpretation which such men as Brother Every give to Barth's thought.

It will be seen that Barth is not afraid to make *some* 'deductions' from the doctrine of Election—but only where they are guided by the logic of God's Word. 'Confrontation with Holy Scripture' was the title of the concluding section of Peter Barth's main address, and the testing of Calvin's viewpoint by this standard—Calvin's own standard—was what he and those who clustered around him at Geneva were constantly demanding. They made it clear that they understood this principle so radically that they were quite prepared to admit that

'Catholicism' and 'Modernism' have at some points understood the Bible better, and remained more faithful to it, than traditional Calvinism. One speaker, M. Cadier, accused Barth of being closer to the Jansenism of the Roman Catholic Pascal than to true Calvinism. Here again the echo of Coleridge may be heard; for of all the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Coleridge loved none more than Archbishop Leighton, who was deeply influenced by the scholars of Port-Royal.

At the 1938 Congress the difference between traditional and Barthian Calvinism was not presented as acutely or directly as at Geneva, but it made its appearance in a sufficiently clear way to confirm the conclusions suggested by the Geneva Proceedings. It was very easy to observe at Edinburgh, for example, that Barthianism is finding a much more positive reception in the Church of Scotland than in the present Scottish Free Church, however much the highly conservative (and theoretically 'anti-Erastian') character of the latter might lead us to expect matters to be otherwise. The 'dialectical theology' unquestionably finds itself more at home in an atmosphere in which historical and linguistic scholarship are pursued in a dispassionate and liberal-minded spirit, than in one which is dominated by the idea of turning all knowledge to the advantage of 'positive' and 'evangelical' Christianity and the disadvantage of its opponents.

The most notable fact which the Edinburgh Congress established in this connexion was that 'natural theology', like the 'theology of experience', may be an instrument of narrow-mindedness as well as of its opposite. Those who dissent from Barth's repudiation of 'natural theology' are apt to imagine that they are dissenting from an excessively 'conservative' element in his thought; but Edinburgh made it plain that this is far from being the case. 'Natural theology' found no more staunch upholders there than those who followed Calvin not only in the spirit but in the letter of his teaching. No one could have been keener than the really thorough-going Fundamentalists were to prove that the truth of the Scriptures was not merely compatible with but was definitely established by the results of advancing science. The extent to which theological conservatism opposed Barthianism on precisely the same basic principles as are usually advanced against it by theological liberalism, was quite remarkable.

The facts which these Congresses have brought to light strongly suggest that the real function of the 'dialectical theology' in the English-speaking religious world is very widely and very radically misrepresented. Barthianism, it is frequently asserted, is challenging 'liberalism' in theology to retrace its steps; and the most wise response that 'liberalism' can make to this challenge is generally assumed to be a retracing of its steps to a certain distance back, though not so far as Barth himself desires. The business of the English-speaking Barthian, it is felt, is chiefly to attack and criticize the mass of 'modernism' that surrounds him, but to do it in a somewhat less vehement and 'extreme' way than his Continental brethren.

It is just this attitude which the Congresses indicate to be a mistaken one. They confirm, in the first place, Barth's own insistence that a 'moderate' Barthian is no real Barthian at all—one must go the whole way with him, or take some other path altogether. For all that they reveal of breadth and hopefulness in this theology is essentially bound up, not with a 'moderation' of its 'extreme' positions, such as its renunciation of 'natural theology', but with a renewed emphasis on them. It must immediately be added, however, that they do reveal breadth and hopefulness in Barth's theology, and indicate that this 'way' of his, which we must follow to the end or not at all, is a way which takes us quite as far from theological conservatism as from theological liberalism. The English-speaking Barthian in particular needs to learn how to direct his polemic against Fundamentalism just as definitely as he now directs it against Modernism. Since Fundamentalism is by no means a 'dead issue' in his religious world (however much it may be laughed aside in academic circles), he has a duty to himself as well as to the worried Modernist to make it quite clear that he is not on the side of reaction in theology. He would be wise also to take Brother Every's hint and examine the connexions between his own line of attack on such reaction and that of his earlier fellow-countrymen Coleridge and Maurice.

He must also take pains to show that one reason why he cannot accept the type of 'moderate' Barthianism which is most popular in his own immediate surroundings, is precisely that it is no true coming to grips with Barth's own challenge but an attempted compromise with theological conservatism, which is really irrelevant to Barthianism. For the viewpoints which are most usually put forward as attempts to 'meet Barth half-way'—attacks on the 'Social Gospel', for example, and renewed emphases on 'the wrath of God' and on the experience of 'conversion'—are essentially just such irrelevant 'compromises of liberalism with conservatism'. The most noteworthy of these attempts is of course the Oxford Group Movement; but with that movement Barth himself has already dealt faithfully in the pages of the *London Quarterly*.

ARTHUR N. PRIOR

SPINOZA'S ETHIC¹

WHILE it would be unfair to father on Spinoza all the attempts to construct a theology based upon his foundation principle of Spiritual Monism, a principle which had long been the pillar principle of the philosophic and religious thinkers of India, nevertheless we may say that probably Spinoza did more to popularize this Pantheistic Idea than any philosopher of front rank. Although these systems, pantheistic in their trend, have not been able to stand up to the onslaught of modern philosophy, Spinoza will be treated with respect by the philosophers, even though his main tenets have been disproved.

¹ *An Introduction to Spinoza's Ethic.* By Alexander Shanks. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. 6d. net.)

For Spinoza is still a name to conjure with, and however much we may dislike some of his conclusions, his witness to the reality of the Eternal Spirit and his quiet confidence in the Immanence of God, will ever be a challenge to the materialistic conception of history and similar cheerless philosophies.

An Introduction to Spinoza's Ethic, by Alexander Shanks, does not claim to be a thorough-going exposition of the philosophy of Spinoza, nor does it claim to be a defence of all his main positions: it is a clearly written introduction to Spinoza's great contribution to the quest of the world's finest minds for the ultimate truth of the universe. One need not be a disciple of this 'God-Intoxicated Man' to acknowledge readily that such contribution was one of no mean order.

We are grateful to Mr. Shanks for this introduction—an introduction which will be read with interest by many who have long known something of Spinoza's principles—remembering (to quote the author), 'The aim of this volume is expository rather than critical. The guiding theme of the work is the attempt to assess the positive value of a writer who exercised a considerable influence in his own day, but who is now dismissed too lightly on technical grounds'. He suggests that Spinoza has too often been dismissed on logical grounds, whereas his aim was ethical rather than logical. This book is well called 'An introduction to Spinoza's "Ethic"'. His method is, first, to deal with the Spinoza definitions, then to re-state his argument, and to conclude (with what we think is the most valuable portion of the book) a chapter of notes. These notes could not have been written by Mr. Shanks, unless he himself had become so indoctrinated with Spinoza's teaching as to be, if not a disciple, certainly a discriminating admirer.

Commencing with the idea that Substance for Spinoza meant what we should call Ultimate Reality: 'take any experience whatever and think back to what you believe to be its ultimate cause. This cause is what I mean by Substance.' It seems then that to Spinoza the terms Substance and God are interchangeable. The idea of God's Personality is not so readily arrived at, and though Spinoza himself would probably have accepted it there is much in his teaching that makes one wonder what indeed His personality consisted of; probably the term supra-personal would be some indication of its content. Passing to the consideration of the definition of Attribute, the two ideas upon which he dwells are those of Thought and Extension. These entirely cover the realm of relevant experience. They are entirely independent of one another, yet each expresses fully the entire nature of one identical Substance. The rest of the chapter deals with the definitions, mode, finite, infinite, causality, duration, essence, thing, mind, intellect, body, imagination, adequate ideas, inadequate ideas, objective, emotion, passion, and desire. In Section Two we get the two most important chapters in the book, consisting of a Restatement of Spinoza's Argument, and the author's Notes.

To indicate briefly the lines followed:

Book I. Nothing exists beyond Substance to cause it, then Substance exists without cause, and by the same token is infinite. But God is

defined as 'Substance consisting of infinite attributes', therefore God exists. And since God comprises, by definition, infinite (i.e. all possible) attributes, no other substance can exist, for to be *another* substance it would have to possess some attribute different from God. Everything exists in God. And since all things existing are comprised in God there is nothing external to God to compel His will. (No wonder that such a Pantheistic conception has roused the critical hostility of those philosophers and common people who still find room in their scheme of things for human free-will!)

God's 'power' is therefore the same as His 'essence'. He cannot be said to *will* anything except in so far as certain things follow of necessity from His very nature. Hence nothing which God has produced could have been otherwise, and nothing could have been produced which has not been produced.

Book 2. God has two attributes, Thought and Extension. From each an infinite number of things follow necessarily, constituting two closed systems. Ideas follow from ideas under the attribute of thought, independently of the things with which we connect them in experience. They are not caused by the things with which we connect them but are in fact these same things considered under the attribute of thought. Then follows a summary of Spinoza's teaching on mind, imagination, memory, knowledge, truth and falsity, form of eternity, necessity, will and affirmation. It is interesting to note that under the head, Necessity, we find this: 'Hence it regards things not under the form of duration, but under a "form of eternity"'. Also, since to do this it must regard things as following directly from the essential nature of God, it sees all things as necessary.' And under the heading, Will and Affirmation, we get this: 'Our supposed faculty of willing is no more than a power of affirmation, which follows necessarily from an idea. . . . We have therefore no absolute faculty of willing, but only a series of volitions or affirmations which follow from a series of ideas.'

For an outline of Books 3, 4, and 5, we must refer readers to the book. Even if one has done little or no philosophical reading the book is valuable. It helps to explain the emphasis of much of the preaching of a quarter of a century ago—when preaching was much more influenced than to-day by a somewhat casual acquaintance with the newly discovered but ancient theory of Spiritual Monism, and many of the strange assertions, not clearly thought out, which issued from an undigested meal of an ancient Pantheism dressed in the garb of Christian Mysticism.

The last section of the book which contains the author's own Notes is very valuable and will repay careful reading. But the young student must not stop here. Having read the best that Mr. Shanks can say for Spinoza and his teaching, we would advise, not only a more complete study of Spinoza himself, but also the examination of the Spinoza school and the school of the Monists with such reliable guides as Pringle—Pattison, A. E. Taylor, and especially W. R. Sorley.

It may be useful to conclude this survey with a brief examination of one or two of the author's Notes, and then to close with a few words of general criticism of one of the main points involved.

A finite individual actually existing would be, according to the Spinoza theory of 'mode' and 'regress', an example, existing in time, of something really existing without time in the Infinite Intellect, i.e. having formal and objective being as opposed to existence in terms of duration.

Thus the individual, considered under the form of eternity, follows necessarily from the nature of God. But from the point of view of duration the individual is determined by the relations in which it stands to other finite individuals, and go so far as we will, we cannot get clear of the chain of relational dependency. . . . We cannot have so large a vision as to embrace the totality of causes, but we can achieve the result by another method. Thus, we can relate things of which we have only inadequate ideas to those of which we have adequate ideas, and by means of these we can conceive of the nature of such a 'total causality' at least in a negative sense. . . . 'The intellect of God', says Spinoza, 'is the cause of both the essence and the existence of things', and again, 'that which is contained objectively in the intellect must necessarily exist in nature. . . .

Hence it follows that the human mind is part of the infinite intellect of God, and therefore when we say that the mind perceives this or that thing, we say nothing else than that God has this or that idea.' That seems to suggest that the things which we perceive are really ideas in God's intellect, and we should not possess these ideas unless our minds were part of that intellect. Thus, according to Spinoza, our Adequate Ideas are those which follow from ideas which are in God's mind. Our Inadequate Ideas are those which we possess but which are not in harmony with the ideas which are in God's intellect, so that it also follows that any true knowledge that we possess, we do not possess through our perception of the thing, but through an idea in us which derives ultimately from that idea in God's intellect which constitutes the essence of the thing in question. Thus truth is a kind of by-product. In his Note No. 9, *Ethical Realities*, the author gets to the very heart of the Spinoza philosophy. It must be read in its entirety to be thoroughly grasped. The problem is this: Spinoza's ethical argument demands that the finite things of our experience be dependent on God, yet common sense shows that they are dependent on finite things. Here we come up against the problem of Realism and Idealism. And we have to find foothold somewhere between the philosophy which denies God and makes the causal regress ultimate, and Subjective Idealism, which denies the reality of causal individuals and makes the subjective element ultimate. This is the battle-ground of modern as well as ancient philosophy. The warriors have fought and fought again. Great generals of the mind from Zeno and Heraclitus down through Locke and Hume and Kant to such moderns as James and Whitehead have faced the problem without solving it. Our author thinks that Spinoza has been

more successful than most, and for his argument we must refer the reader to the book. He sums it all up by saying: 'The merits of Spinoza's treatment of this part of his subject, as I see them, are (1) his retention of this element of realism within experience, and (2) his recognition that the cause of any given effect embraces the whole system of which it is a part.'

And now we reach the Note 10, Will, upon which a whole volume of criticism might be written. Here we find ourselves in the realm of what some have called Spinoza's Fatalism, and we have to examine it carefully, for if it be true, it has consequences for the theologian, not to say the preacher, which are little short of vital. And here the present writer makes bold to say that if the Spinoza theory be accepted, most of our Methodist theology can be thrown overboard. Can we accept the Spinoza doctrine of Will, and if not, why not?

We proceed to examine it, the author of this book being our guide. Mr. Shanks himself realizes that the main positive objection to Spinoza's theory is his treatment of the Will. He points out that his notes have led to the conclusion that Spinoza cannot admit a will in the usual sense of the term except within the 'unreal' sphere of causality. Spinoza holds therefore that our belief in free-will is due to ignorance. If we had true knowledge of causes we would see that all are 'necessary'; that, given one thing, others follow; and that all possible things are given in the idea of God. And so we are faced with the problem of reconciling the Spinoza doctrine of necessity with the fact, that, in experience, we appear to exercise a causality. Can the Spinoza doctrine be reconciled with experience? or, more important still, can it be reconciled with all the deducible facts? For the Spinoza doctrine amounts to this: The ethical distinction is not between two types of activity, but between 'activity' and 'passivity'. In so far as we act at all, our activity follows from God, and is, therefore, ethically good, or virtuous. Evil, in the ethical sense, is the negation of virtue, and not anything positive in itself. That is to say, evil is the shadow where the substance ought to be! God determines all. We have to acquiesce, for all action is in the end, the result of God-determined activities. We hope we are not doing Spinoza an injustice when we call this Fatalism.

Now strange to say, in actual life, many of the least philosophical people in the world *accept* this Spinoza idea, though they never heard of Spinoza. They put it like this: 'What has to be, will be.' And this fatalistic view of life seems to have become commoner since the days of the Great War, when it was crudely put like this: 'If a bullet has my name on it, then it will get me!' At any rate, according to Spinoza, the appearance of will, like all other appearances of finitude are due to ignorance, and we must accept them as such. The solution to man's quest for happiness is, therefore, to be found in activity so far as this is possible, and in acquiescence where this is not possible. In other words, 'our freedom' is a freedom to seek and recognize necessity. Mr. Shanks's comment on this is too good to miss. He writes: 'The idea may sound strange, but is akin, in principle, to that expressed

in the old fisherman's prayer: "O God, if Thou wiltest Thou mayest save me: or again if Thou wiltest Thou may destroy me. Nevertheless will I steer my barque true", and is commonly recognized in our conception of "doing one's best". Mr. Shanks suggests, and we think not without cause, that the Spinoza position is more widely held than is acknowledged. But we question whether he is facing the whole issue when he asserts that as a belief in Destiny is deeply rooted in our minds, this necessarily implies that we thereby surrender our right to believe in free-will. We hope this is not to do Mr. Shanks an injustice, but we do suggest that while, as he says, it may be difficult to reconcile the idea of freedom with belief in Divine Providence, such reconciliation is not impossible, and has more than once been not only attempted but accomplished, and that, without the subterfuge of any pulpit assertion that does not face the fundamental difficulty. But here, for the time being, we must leave this very stimulating book, having prepared the way for a further article which might well be entitled: Can the Theories of Spinoza be Harmonized with a Belief in Moral Responsibility? Personally, we do not think they can. Hence, while a study of Spinoza is well worth while, and is really imperative if one is to face the problems raised, we do not think the time has come or will ever come when this 'God-Intoxicated Man' will become any more than an interesting study. The world of philosophy has advanced beyond Spinoza, and we do not anticipate any return movement. One thing we can say, however, without hesitation, and that is: that any who would be introduced to this fascinating thinker can have no better guide than the writer of this book.

PERCY S. CARDEN

C. G. MONTEFIORE: A Jewish Greatheart

MANY scholars will have written appreciatively of the worth and work of C. G. Montefiore, who passed away on July 9, 1938. May I, a stranger to the Metropolis and the scholars, say that I, too, feel that I have lost a good friend. Since 1923, when a Study Group of North of England ministers asked me to write an essay on Liberal Judaism and Christianity, we maintained a correspondence until within a few weeks of his death. He read my 'paper', and made useful suggestions and corrections. He was never too busy to read any subsequent MSS. and proffer comments and criticisms. He has been a very great help to me in my studies, and has ever manifested a gracious and generous spirit. Referring to Dr. Peake, another tutor to whom I owe more than I can ever repay, he calls him 'that marvellous man'. And Dr. Peake wrote: 'Montefiore is an old friend of mine and I have a great regard for him. It was on my suggestion that the University of Manchester gave him the D.D. He was delighted to receive it, and I was glad, partly because it was a pleasure that such an honour should be conferred upon him, and partly because I wished to make it clear that differences of religion were for us quite irrelevant in the bestowment of our Divinity degrees.' Bible students will

not forget to reread the essay on 'Contemporary Jewish Religion' by Mr. Montefiore in *Peake's Commentary*.¹

Both Christians and Jews owe a great debt to Dr. Montefiore and his great friend, the late Israel Abrahams, for their presentation of Jewish life and thought. They have thrown much light on New Testament times. He wrote: 'The death of Israel Abrahams is a great blow. He is a big loss to scholarship and his friends, a loss which cannot be filled.'

He could not abide Political Zionism, and would criticize their position severely at times. Klausner's book on *Jesus of Nazareth* was spoilt for him since the author was 'A fierce Zionist . . . his estimate of Jesus and His teaching is most odd'. Criticizing my MSS., (Nov. 27, 1931) he wrote: 'I don't like the impression given as if all Jews were wanderers on the face of the earth. I don't feel so, and thousands of English, French, Dutch, Italian, German, American Jews don't feel so. We feel settled citizens of our own countries and fatherlands. . . . I am, as a matter of fact, glad and proud that I was born on English soil.' He liked to call himself an English citizen of the Jewish persuasion. Then came the horrible, blood-curdling tales of persecutions of Jews instigated by Hitler and his bosom friend Striecher, the murder, misery and gloom of the Jews ever deepening. Echoes of the tragedy occur in his correspondence. 'Perhaps I may be over-sensitive on Zionists. . . . The times are gloomy for civilization, and desperately gloomy for the Jews. We must still have faith in God and Righteousness and in their Providence. . . . The conditions for my unfortunate co-religionists in Germany and Poland are terrible and enough to break one's heart.'

He was over generous in his appreciation of anything one did to lighten the distress, or correct false notions of the alleged vices of his fellow Jews. 'It is good of you to do your "bit" to allay prejudice and to remove hatreds.' I shall greatly miss his notes and comments written in a genial, gracious and half humorous manner. I feel I have lost a friend. 'The memory of the righteous is a blessing.'

G. H. PARBROOK

RECENT BRITISH PHILOSOPHY

A HISTORY of philosophy is not often a fascinating book. All too often the reader must endure either a crammed catalogue of names and theories or else, like a lost explorer, be doomed to wade up endless river-beds, largely arid and purposeless, with only a few pools that seem remote from all connexion with the water of life. It is the great merit of the book before us that it is adequate in its presentation of facts and yet conveys them with clarity not as dead theories but with living interest. This is a tribute to the imaginative sympathy as well as to the vast erudition of its author and is all the more remarkable

¹ Readers may be interested to compare Dr. Peake's tribute to Montefiore in *Recollections and Appreciations*, pp. 179-185 (Epworth Press, 1938, 6s.)

since the work is a translation of a big book originally written for German students. *A Hundred Years of British Philosophy*, by Dr. Rudolph Metz (828 pp., Allen & Unwin, 25s.) is the latest addition to the Library of Philosophy, edited by Dr. J. H. Muirhead and translated by Professors J. W. Harvey, T. E. Jessop and Mr. Henry Sturt. For this English translation the author has provided revised bibliographies and has added new material, so that it is, in reality, a corrected and enlarged edition of the original work which was published in 1935, and has been recognized as by far the fullest and best history of recent British philosophy. The book is divided into two parts. The first surveys the work of the earlier half of last century, the time of the Utilitarians, the Evolutionary-Naturalists—Darwin, Spencer and Huxley—and the Oxford Movement. The second, and much the longer part, of Dr. Metz's study deals very fully and sympathetically with the Idealists who, in various schools, dominated English philosophy so completely by the end of the century. Dr. Metz enjoys the reflected glory which, he feels, is thrown upon his own countrymen, for he will have none of the theory that Green, the Cairds, Bradley and their followers are typically English or that their work has true lineal descent from anything other than German sources, most notably in Hegel. Shorter sections follow which deal with Pragmatism and the Older Realism, and then the history comes right up to date with the New Realism, Mathematical Logic, the Natural Philosophers—Eddington and Jeans most conspicuously—and concludes with accounts of the Psychologists and Religious Philosophers. It is for these last sections that we believe the modern student will be most grateful, and especially for that on New Realism. Here Dr. Metz disclaims any ability to make a full judgement since 'The New Realism is not an historically rounded movement', and 'One can do no more than delimit the field of intellectual life which it has conquered'. It is here, in the 'philosophy of the present' that the writer sees a truly typical British philosophy which, he contends, reaches back to the classical period of English thought, and springs from the soil free from other influence. (Perhaps the last word has not yet been spoken for the claims of native Idealism: time will show.) This book achieves more completely than any other we know a picture of the many phases of British thought, and the author has enviable felicity of phrase. He does thumbnail sketches in a sentence—like this of the Archbishop of York, 'He belongs to that class of philosophizing divines which is more numerous in England than anywhere else', or this of Whitehead's *Process and Reality*, 'a book with seven seals for most of his contemporaries'. Such writing enables one to lose the labour of study in the joy.

HAROLD S. DARBY

SOME MUSICIANS OF YESTERDAY

THE merits of an executive musician, especially if his work has been unobtrusive, are, it would seem, quickly forgotten. Not long ago a journalist, writing of Percy Pitt, made some unwarrantably insolent remarks, remarks presumably based upon their writer's ignorance that Percy Pitt suffered from shortsightedness. One was glad to see that a singer who had sung under him quickly put the scoffer in his place. Now Mr. J. Daniel Chamier has written *Percy Pitt, of Covent Garden and the B.B.C.* (Arnold, 10s. 6d. net), and one is also glad to find that it has turned out to be most readable and far removed from the average run of such biographies.

Although he was neither a conductor nor a composer of the very front rank, Percy Pitt certainly played an important part in recent English musical history. For some years he was musical adviser to Covent Garden, where his remarkable knowledge of operatic scores and his tact in dealing with the eccentricities of singers were invaluable. He was one of the founders of the British National Opera Company, which he left only because his duties as first musical director of the B.B.C. were increasingly clamouring for his full-time attention.

Mr. Chamier has written a valuable chapter on these early broadcasting days, and the many prominent musicians and publishers whose names are given as opponents must now be hanging their heads in shame, especially as some of them have since deigned to grace the studio with their presence.

Percy Pitt had to retire in 1930 under the age limit, and the account of his closing years—he died towards the end of November, 1932—is rather sad. Indeed, one feels throughout the book that behind the cheerful exterior mask lay a vein of regret that he had not quite got what he wanted out of life.

Most of us, however, would probably die happy if we knew that we should leave behind evidence of the esteem in which we were held by such as Elgar and Hans Richter. If this were a moralizing age, morals would doubtless be freely drawn from the pages on Pitt's association with Richter in the preparation of a production of the *Ring* in English, given, moreover, almost entirely with English singers and players. Richter wished to proceed still further with opera in English, but the controlling authorities of Covent Garden would have none of it. It is most disconcerting to read of this Austrian's faith in the potentialities of native operatic artists and the lack of faith of one's own countrymen. Undoubtedly one of many opportunities was lost here. One can only hope that the same fate will not come to Sadler's Wells, which, I suppose, is the farthest we have yet gone towards establishing both opera in English and English opera.

Mr. Chamier reminds us of the unhappy dispute of 1924 as to whether the Viennese Opera or the B.N.O.C. should have the summer season at Covent Garden. He recalls that Higgins, the general manager of Covent Garden, admitted that the state opera houses

on the Continent sang opera in the vernacular. He could have even more tellingly shown up the artistic pretensions of those who talk so much about the artistry of singing operas in their original languages, to audiences the greater part of which have not the gift of tongues, by pointing out that Covent Garden itself has failed to live up to that ideal. We have had *Figaros Hochzeit* instead of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, and both German and French versions of *Prince Igor* instead of the Russian original. And during much of the nineteenth century, there was no pretence at all of striving for this ideal: *Die Zauberflöte* became *Il Flauto Magico*, and even Wagner, I believe, was often sung in Italian, to say nothing of the fact that an opera of Stanford's had to be translated from its native tongue into German before it could be presented in an English opera house. One would not object so much to this if one were asked to acquiesce to it on *practical* grounds, the availability of singers, &c. Unfortunately, the English operatic public likes to pretend that in this matter it is more artistic than the operatic public of Germany, Italy and France.

The latest additions to the *Master Musicians Series* are *Palestrina* by Henry Coates and *Berlioz* by J. H. Elliot (Dent, 4s. 6d. net each). They make rather an odd pair. Berlioz had no high opinion of Palestrina. He could speak of the Italian's *Impropria* as 'a few concords and suspensions' and remark of his madrigals that they were works 'in which the most frivolous and gallant words are set to exactly the same music as those of the Bible . . . the truth is that he could not write any other kind of music'.

Mr. Coates's book has the merit of being the first in English to make use of the most recent Continental research. If it may be thought that he is occasionally at pains to stress the purity of Palestrina's religious feelings, he nevertheless does not shut his eye to his subject's mercenary side as landlord, wine merchant and furrier.

Of his evaluation of Palestrina's music, one's sole criticism is, that, in insisting that for its full effect, it must be heard in liturgical surroundings, he does not realize that he is unconsciously writing down the aesthetic worth of that music. The greatest religious art surely makes some considerable appeal even when, as in the case of Greek tragedy, no one now accepts its conventions and beliefs.

Mr. Elliot is that rare bird, a writer who can keep his head when writing about Berlioz. He has neither excessive praise nor sweeping denigration. The result is, that, when he writes of the 'Love Scene' from *Romeo and Juliet* that it contains 'the finest piece of music that ever came out of Gaul', one is prepared to accept his contention.

Mr. Elliot warns us against thinking of the essential Berlioz as being the Berlioz of the more fantastic pages of his works. 'It is impossible', he says, 'to sum up Hector Berlioz in a single phrase. There is not one Berlioz—there are half a dozen; and they are as different from one another as they are different from all other composers.' 'One can only admire his virtues, which were legion, and deplore his vices, which were innumerable. He remains himself—Hector Berlioz, the unique.'

Mr. A. M. Henderson is Organist and Choirmaster to the University of Glasgow, and his *Musical Memories* (Grant Educational Company, 3s. 6d. net) is a reprint of articles which appeared in the *Glasgow Evening News*. To the Southerner the book will be chiefly interesting as affording a glimpse of musical happenings in the North. Mr. Henderson has come into contact with the most eminent of musicians, but has, we fear, failed to give any of their *obiter dicta* or marked peculiarities that would bring home their greatness to those unacquainted with his subjects. For instance, he is describing a master-class given by Busoni: 'After each performance Busoni discussed briefly both the work and the interpretation given, generally following this up by playing the work himself. These performances were so masterly and so superlatively fine that, even after thirty-six years, they live in the memory as models of their kind.' But if they were so impressive, ought he not to have been able to set down something more revealing than that? His essay on Hamish MacCunn reminds us that MacCunn wrote other works besides that 'Prom' hardy annual, the *Land of the Mountain and the Flood* overture.

STANLEY BAYLISS.

Editorial Comments

THE CRISIS.

The visit of the Prime Minister to Herr Hitler at Berchtesgaden was surely inspired. The dramatic quality of that sudden flight was not staged. It was in sharp contrast to the tragic but theatrical atmosphere of the preceding week. Of all the sensational happenings it stood out as the most real. Whilst the demands of one side and the obstinacy of the other involve many inconsistencies, the decisive and utterly unexpected action of Mr. Chamberlain has created a new situation—one in which it is to be hoped all parties will get a true perspective. Democracies cannot refuse the right of self-determination to minorities, nor can the Fascist, claiming the right to purge the State of undesirables, logically deny similar rights to the Czech Government. As we go to press the position is easier but undetermined. Men say the future is on the knees of the gods. We had rather remember it might become the gift of God to an eager, saner world.

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A NOTABLE MANIFESTO.

The meeting in London of what has been called an anti-God Conference has aroused considerable criticism. The first reaction to the announcement that such a convention was arranged seemed to be that it should be officially vetoed. Almost at once, however, a stronger body of opinion developed which believed that the right course of conduct was to express the Christian point of view rather than to concentrate on repressing its opponents.

In Parliamentary circles this has had a remarkable outcome. Under the signature of R. J. Russell, Member of Parliament for Eddisbury, and 'Chairman *pro tem.* of the Executive', an urgent appeal was made to all members to join in a campaign to educate public opinion so that the whole nation should desire 'a better standard of citizenship and respond to action taken by Parliament'.

Excellent though this might be as an ideal, and helpful as the panel of speakers undoubtedly is, there is a still more significant circumstance. A 'Manifesto of Witness' has been drawn up and signed by a hundred and eighty Members of Parliament. Its frank declaration of religious belief and its acknowledgement of the personal implications of such affirmation, is a most hopeful sign. The terms of the manifesto are as follows:

A MANIFESTO OF WITNESS

In these momentous days when conflict and anxiety prevail on every side, we wish to bear our witness, for the encouragement

of our fellow-men, to certain firm convictions gained from, and upheld by, the experience of life.

We believe in the Fatherhood of God.

We believe that to those who seek, God gives guidance and help.

We believe in the brotherhood of man.

We believe that the hope of the world is the freedom brought about by that brotherhood, and the practice, in the Spirit of Christ, of truth and justice which it entails.

We believe that the human spirit desires to reach a higher plane of conduct, and although prone to evil seeks through repentance and forgiveness to attain to harmony with the Divine Will.

We believe that with the attainment of that harmony the understanding and wisdom and courage to settle the differences of mankind and bring peace will come.

In this faith we would seek to live, remembering always that throughout the world there are multitudes holding, in varied forms, the same faith and moving towards the same goal.

Such a document signed by men and women of widely differing views is significant in an hour when 'crisis' is a word on everyone's lips, and when men talk, almost glibly, of the destiny of the human race as being dependent on the speech of a single man. We feel that Mr. Russell and those associated with him are taking a step that may be vital to the future of Britain. It is to be hoped that their lead may be enthusiastically followed.

There are certain obvious problems to be faced. The growth of bogus clubs, the increase in gambling through pari-mutuel systems, and the deterioration of sexual morality caused by the unregulated sale of contraceptives are matters which concern every right-minded citizen. The Manifesto, however, goes beyond any mere special pleading. It deals with fundamentals. We congratulate those who have drawn it up, and we are enheartened by reading the names of its distinguished supporters. It remains for us to carry its spirit into every department of national life, so that the man in the street realizes that Christianity is not a negative creed and that God waits to work through men.

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A GREAT QUAKER PHILOSOPHER.

The volume of historical essays, *Children of the Light*, was published in honour of Rufus M. Jones, on his seventy-fifth birthday. In his Introduction, the editor, Howard H. Brinton, says, 'We who write this book are able to commemorate only one aspect of Rufus Jones's many-sided life and scholarship'. Admirable as these essays on Quaker history are, they do not pretend to be more than a gesture of appreciation of an historian, who is also a philosopher, a social reformer and most notably a great exponent of Christian mysticism. The choice of the general topic is explained by the Editor who has himself

written an exceedingly well-balanced and illuminating chapter on 'Stages in Scriptural Development as Exemplified in Quaker Journals'. 'We feel', he says, 'that Rufus Jones has, in a measure, used the history of a small Christian sect to define, in terms of to-day, the nature of divine human relationship. In his hands history has become, not a rehearsal of occurrences, but a drama of souls seeking and finding fulfilment in God.' In *Studies in Mystical Religion, Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, The Quakers in the American Colonies and The Later Periods of Quakerism*, Rufus Jones demonstrated clearly that the Society of Friends had its beginnings in primitive Christianity. It is an inevitable expression of mystical religion which began in the early days of the Christian Church. As such it is fundamental and certainly not isolated.

One can hardly think of Rufus Jones, for so many years Professor of Philosophy at Haverford College, without remembering amongst all his more ambitious volumes, that slender little book, first published in 1902—*A Boy's Religion from Memory*. He maintained, as he wrote 'still in sight of his childhood', that a boy was fundamentally religious, and that his religious life was a natural inheritance. In the story of his own boyhood, told with classic simplicity and devoid of any sensational incident, there was something prophetic of the man who better than most was to interpret the essential experience of the great mystics.

For Rufus Jones himself the experience of God seems to have been what he calls 'the homing sense like that of migrating birds'. In his latest book, *The Eternal Gospel*, he contrasts the man who looks on God as unknown and is therefore a provincial inhabitant with the mystic who is at home in the Father's house. No one has moved amongst this family circle with greater ease or surer understanding. He has never tolerated interpretations of religious experience which depended on methods used for space-time objects.

Great as were such early books as *Social Law in the Spiritual World* and *The Inner Life*, their author has never lowered the quality of his writing nor lessened the vitality of his thought. The Ayer Lectures for 1936 were delivered by him and published under the title *The Testimony of the Soul*. The book was a searching analysis of modern religious issues and it concluded as one would expect from Rufus Jones, with a chapter on 'That much abused word, "Mysticism"'. He confessed that he felt compelled to use it 'to simplify the deepest and richest stage of man's religious life, which is direct experience of God'. After more than seventy years he looks at life steadily with stronger, clearer convictions than ever. 'Faith is kept,' he once wrote, 'as life is kept, by constant adjustment to environment.' He has never failed to make the adjustments, and perhaps that is the secret of his ever-growing faith. One cannot read *The Eternal Gospel* without realizing it is the product of one who has had inner converse. As I pondered this book, the first in *The Great Issues of Life Series*, I remembered the author's dedication of *A Dynamic Faith*—'To the sweet and shining memory of a friend, now in the heavenlies, whose inspiration touched

these pages'. It has seemed to me that this master, at whose feet I have sat so long, has lived in that strange hinterland which borders the heavenlies.

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THE FERNLEY-HARTLEY LECTURE, 1938.

In this age of political ideologies which challenge each other yet join in threatening the liberty of the individual, one turns with eager anticipation to a definition of the Christian Church which combines 'leadership' and 'sharing' as fundamental principles in a divinely-ordered society. The Fernley-Hartley Lecturer for 1938 was Dr. R. Newton Flew,¹ and he chose as his subject the 'Idea of the Ecclesia in the New Testament'. In a masterly survey which should take its place with Hort's 'Christian Ecclesia', the Principal of Wesley House, Cambridge, defines the nature of the Church from the standpoint of a Protestant theologian who finds his first and final argument in the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament. The principles and practice of the primitive Church are discussed and elucidate the whole interpretation. Students of the Report of the Oxford Conference on 'Life and Work' and that of the Edinburgh Conference on 'Faith and Order' will find this lecture of first importance.

The recent meeting of the 'Faith and Order' Committee at St. George's School, Clarens, elected Dr. Flew as Chairman of the Commission appointed to consider 'the nature of the Church in Scripture, tradition and teaching of the various Confessional Churches'. It is an appointment which in itself suggests progress towards real unity. A generation ago the election of a Methodist, however distinguished, to preside over a body so representative of ancient historic Churches would have been deemed impossible. We congratulate Dr. Flew and commend his latest book to all who are interested in this vital subject.

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THE CATO LECTURE, 1938.

The founder of the Cato lectureship has been justified in his generous action by the first two lectures which have been delivered. Australia received Dr. Maltby with enthusiasm and the publication of *Christ and His Cross* has made it possible for the world to sit at his feet and receive his message. The second series of lectures by Dr. J. Alexander Findlay² will surely receive similar recognition.

If it be true that the Church is under a cloud because of her divisions, and true also that 'the Creeds use a language that is meaningless to most educated men', how can we hope to stem the paganism which is coming back to a terror-stricken world? In the Cato lecture for 1938, Professor J. A. Findlay shows Jesus, divine and human, as 'the one unsolved problem of history' challenging every self-respecting

¹*Jesus and His Church*, Rev. R. Newton Flew, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press 6s.)

²*Jesus, Divine and Human*. (Epworth Press, 6s.)

historian, but waiting to be received by a world that is beginning to display an intense interest in Him. The purpose of the lecture is to show that in the Passion of our Lord 'the human is taken up into the divine, and the two become consciously one'.

It is a remarkable book, provocative and stimulating, too concise and closely reasoned to admit of partial synopsis. Those who read it will pause many a time to weigh the evidence, perhaps at certain points to disagree, but always to feel refreshed and eager. It may be that some will find it difficult to interpret the Transfiguration as Dr. Findlay suggests—as a vision of Peter rather than an experience of Jesus, but even as they consider the possibility they will probably find a new reality in their own approach to the problem. There are many such challenging suggestions in the book. It has that peculiar quality which opens long avenues to the mind alert and to the spirit that is eager to understand. It is written with so charming and easy a style that one may read it at a sitting, yet, having done so, one will realize it must remain close at hand to be read again and again. Even when one has agreed or disagreed with this point and with that, one is drawn irresistibly to share its joyous conclusion: 'On the Cross He has taken all our heart-break and transmuted it into divine joy and peace . . . [The world is redeemed] for God is in it, not merely directing it, but in the situation, whatever the outward facts of the situation at any moment may be. This was the faith by which Jesus lived.'

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AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT BURNS.¹

One wonders that no one seems to have attempted this before. We have read the diaries of Robert Burns, his letters and his poems, but they have been read separately or in sections. Now, at last, by the ingenuity of Mr. Keith Henderson they are pieced together to form a continuous narrative, complete enough—with the aid of comments by Gilbert and William, his brothers, Isbal his sister, and a few of his friends.

The work is done skilfully. Marginal references and footnotes are wisely avoided. The material falls into natural divisions—Poverty and Obscurity, Great Folks, I Begin as a Farmer, I Give up Farming, Where are the Joys. Here and there, for the benefit of mere English folk (!) the spelling has been simplified, and, very occasionally, an explanation offered in a modest phrase or two. We doubt if it could have been better done. The volume is a charming gift, coming from the hand of Keith Henderson and the heart of Robert Burns.

The illustrations are modern in conception but in many cases most successful. Two of them, showing Burns at prayer, are unforgettable in their simplicity and directness.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

¹ *Burns—by Himself*—Keith Henderson. (Methuen, 12s. 6d. net.)

Ministers in Council

THE A.A.R.E. The Secretary of the Association for Adult Religious Education asks that we might make known two courses of lectures. Dr. Ryder Smith will deliver a series on 'The History and Religion of Israel' on twenty-four consecutive Tuesday evenings beginning on September 27, and Miss Marjorie West, B.A., B.D., will lecture on 'The Gospels' on Monday evenings for a similar period. All these lectures will be at the University College, Gower Street, W.C.1. The Association also publishes a magazine entitled *The Bible and Modern Thought* and of this one of the editors is Dr. T. W. Manson. In a recent issue Professor W. Bardsley Brash had an article on 'The Old Testament Writer as Artist'.

* * * * *

BORROWING DEAR BOOKS. Undoubtedly a book-lover would wish to buy every book that appeals to him, but not always is that possible. Besides, extensive facilities now exist whereby, in particular, expensive books can be borrowed. It seems fitting that these opportunities should be more widely known and more fully utilized. The National Central Library in London, with its sister institutions in Scotland (Dunfermline) and in Ireland (Dublin) exists for the purpose of supplying books which would otherwise not be easily obtainable by the borrower. The Scottish and Irish libraries are maintained by their trustees. For the National Central Library, London, a Treasury grant is being made of £5,000 a year and until 1940 the Carnegie Trust is at present giving £4,000 per annum. In addition to issuing books in English, this Library has made a beginning in borrowing books for its readers from foreign libraries. In 1937 the National Central Library, London, secured for borrowers no less than 53,121 books. Theological books are included in the range of this Library (such as, for example, *The History of Primitive Christianity*, by J. Weiss in two volumes. 42s.), and these may be obtained either by applying direct or through a local library. The borrower pays postage on return.

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THE REGIONAL LIBRARY SYSTEM. An interesting development has been the growth of the Regional Library system. As an example may be taken the East Midland Regional Library system. Originating with the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees who called a conference of those interested at Leicester in 1934, there is now being served an area covering the counties of Cambridge, Derby, Isle of Ely, Huntingdon, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Soke of Peterborough, Suffolk and Rutland. The organization promotes co-operation between the libraries in the area by arranging loans between them. It also

co-operates with the National Central Library, from which it secures books for readers in its area. The libraries of the Leicester and Nottingham University Colleges are also assisting. In the third year of working (1937) 6,626 books have been made available through the Bureau at Leicester.

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NON-FICTION BOOKS IN VILLAGES. In pre-war years many villages were isolated from such cultural facilities as were enjoyed in large towns, and especially did they suffer from want of access to libraries. Even now there is much to be done if mental starvation is to be prevented. Happily, however, the County Library system seems to be getting into its stride. In 1914 the Carnegie Trustees initiated a scheme for the formation and assistance of County libraries and, after generous subsidies since that date to the present, is now able to leave the further development of the movement to the County authorities. In a Report on County Libraries published in 1935 by the Library Association, Mr. J. M. Mitchell was able to say, 'Looking back as I do . . . and remembering the foundation of the large majority of these library services during the anxious years that followed the war, I can hardly believe that the total issues have risen from a few thousands in the pioneer counties to nearly 50 millions in fifteen years, with a total stock of 5½ million books and a reading public of over two million who, broadly speaking, had no library service before. . . . All this represents a great change in the opportunities enjoyed by members of village and small urban communities and alongside it there have developed other cultural services—Village Halls, Rural Community Councils, Rural Drama and Music on a large scale, Young Farmers' Clubs and other humanizing agencies. I do not think it is too much to claim that the County Library Movement has in certain aspects shown the way to these and other movements and that it is now an ancillary service of primary importance'. Whilst the figures given include fiction, the proportion of non-fiction is encouraging, as also is the fact that the County service is making steadily growing provision for adult students both in classes or groups and in their homes. The County system is also helping clubs, Women's Institutes and . . . prisons!

These illuminating facts relative to book supplies for villages would suggest welcome possible aids for mental stimulus and religious development of which especially leaders of classes for young people would be glad to avail themselves.

* * * * *

'LIVERPOOL MINUTES.' In view of the continued heavy decrease in membership in the Methodist Church and grave concern for the steps to be taken to meet so serious a situation, special interest attaches to what have been known as the 'Liverpool Minutes'. To Mr. H. E. Bryant, B.A., of Grimsby, I am indebted for the loan of a copy of the Minutes of the Wesleyan Conferences from 1819 to 1826, embodying

the famous resolutions of 1820 which are referred to by the name of the 'Liverpool Minutes'. When the Conference met that year in Liverpool for its 77th annual assembly it was found that the membership in Great Britain was 191,217, a decrease of 4,688. This disconcerting report led to earnest heart-searching, and keenest solicitude was shown for an immediate recovery. In the Minutes of that Conference, Question 26 reads: 'What measures can we adopt for the increase of spiritual religion among our societies and congregations and for the extension of the work of God in our native country?' The Answer given is: 'After long and deeply serious deliberation on this important question, we have unanimously agreed to the following results.' Then follow seven pages of detailed exhortation and suggestion, divided into thirty-one paragraphs. The representatives at the Conference decided on fuller dedication both of themselves and their families. They proposed to concentrate on their own proper work, with intensity in prayer and study. They urged recourse, even in old established circuits, to the practice of out-door preaching. Classes were to be held for those not far from the Kingdom of God. Prayer meetings in houses were to be encouraged. Fast days should be appointed each quarter. No class leader should be nominated without satisfaction as to his character and capabilities. Warning should be given as to the waste of any part of the Sabbath by visiting or receiving company. It was agreed that a series of Catechisms should be prepared for general use.

Two paragraphs may be quoted in full. One relates to preachers: '(2) Let us endeavour in our public ministry to preach constantly all those leading and vital doctrines of the gospel which peculiarly distinguished the original Methodist preachers whose labours were so singularly blessed by the Lord and to preach them in our primitive method—evangelically, experimentally, zealously and with great plainness and simplicity, giving to them a decided prominence in every sermon, and labouring to apply them closely, affectionately and energetically to the consciences of the different classes of our hearers.'

The other paragraph concerned those engaged in public life: '(27) We affectionately exhort those of our own people who are laudably active in various benevolent institutions, while they persevere in every good word and work, to guard against the danger of expending all their leisure and influence on mere local and subordinate charities, so as to neglect God's own direct and immediate institutions, such as the public preaching of the gospel or to deprive themselves of the opportunity of regularly attending their classes and of private prayer and reading of the holy Scriptures. It should not be forgotten that the great spiritual work of God depends, under the divine blessing, on the general and conscientious use of His institutions and that in the success of that work all other good institutions among us had their origin and must ever have their principal support. "These things ought ye to have done and not to have left the other undone."'

The ensuing Conference, held in Manchester in 1821, showed a distinct turn of the tide with an increase of 9,137 members. The

Annual Address of the Conference to the Methodist Societies, 1821, was set in a jubilant key. It began: 'On no former occasion has the review of the work of God among us afforded greater reason for our most grateful acknowledgments. In an eminent degree the Lord has revived his work. . . .' Referring to what had happened at Liverpool the previous year the Address stated, 'Nothing new was adopted or even proposed. . . . We stood in the old ways and enquired'. It was felt that spiritual success had come, not through the adoption of any spectacular or sensational methods but by a return to the abiding and eternal principles and modes of grace.

In our new Methodist Church might not further incentive be given to the search for power and progress by the republication in full of these old 'Liverpool Minutes', with some narrative of the circumstances of the times and of the happy issue that resulted?

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EDGEHILL REFRESHER COURSE. The Rev. Alexander McCrea, M.A., Principal of the Edgehill Theological College, Belfast, kindly sends me a prospectus of the Sixth Annual Refresher Course which was held from August 30 to September 2. Dr. Ryder Smith lectured on 'The Tempering of the Steel, Or: Studies in the Prophets' and Dr. Harold Roberts on 'The Gospel and the Present Age' (dealing with Current Tendencies, the Gospel, The Church, Worship and Preaching). The evening Discussions covered a wide range. On 'Our Work in Declining Areas', the Rev. R. H. Spence dealt with 'The Minister's Problems', and the Rev. W. E. M. Thompson with 'The Church's Responsibility'. Under the general heading of 'Our attitude to certain Religious Movements', the Rev. H. R. Armstrong spoke on 'Pentecostal, Faith Mission and Plymouth Brethren', and the Rev. J. R. W. Roddie on 'Christian Science'. One evening was devoted to a consideration of 'The Minister and Youth Movements', when the Rev. F. Bennett, B.A., discussed 'The Middle-aged Minister and Youth', the Rev. D. H. Ludlow 'Bible Classes and Week-night Services', and the Rev. R. J. Good took as his theme 'Christian Endeavour and Sunday School'. The final discussion was on 'Where should the emphasis be placed in our ministry?' opened up by the Rev. R. A. Lockhart, B.A. The promoters are to be congratulated on so excellent a programme.

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I shall be glad to receive further reports and also comments on any subject suitable for these columns.

10 Mainwaring Road,
Lincoln.

W. E. FARNDALE

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND COMPARATIVE RELIGION

Ancient Hebrew Poems Metrically Translated with Introductions and Notes. By W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., Litt.D. (S.P.C.K. 6s.)

It is sometimes said that when a professor retires from his teaching he loses the incentive to write. This is emphatically not true of Prebendary Oesterley, who during the past two or three years has published a series of aids to the Old Testament student. The present volume contains thirty-two selected Hebrew poems. Each is translated to show as nearly as possible the rhythmical structure of the original, the beats of which are marked by acute accents in the English rendering. Each translation is preceded by a brief introduction, and followed by notes, largely textual. The whole is prefaced by an introduction in which the characteristics of Hebrew poetry are described. The passages are selected with a view to exhibiting the wide range of Hebrew poetry: four of them are taken from the Pentateuch, seven from the historical books, three from the Psalms, eight from Isaiah (counting the Servant-Songs as one), seven from the other prophetic books, and one each from Tobit, Judith, and Ecclesiasticus. The book is mainly intended for those who do not know Hebrew, and Dr. Oesterley, who is fairly free, though not extravagant, with textual emendations, asks his readers to be forbearing if he sometimes seems dogmatic on points where they have no means of testing his conclusions. It is natural that where so much is offered in so brief a compass, statements should be made that are in need of qualification, as, for example, that it is 'held by most modern scholars' that the Servant-Songs are not from the Deutero-Isaiah. This *may* be a majority view, but the balance of opinion is surely more even than Dr. Oesterley suggests. The question is one of the most difficult to decide in the whole field of Old Testament study, and Dr. Oesterley seems to have changed his own mind about it since he and Professor T. H. Robinson published the revised edition of their *Hebrew Religion* a year ago. But a book of this kind is not to be judged on isolated points. We should rather be grateful that Dr. Oesterley, who, as they know who know him best, has had every right to take things easily, should produce so much that is stimulating out of what he has garnered through the years.

C. R. NORTH

The Origins of Early Semitic Ritual. By S. H. Hooke.
Schweich Lectures. (Oxford Press. 6s.)

Professor S. H. Hooke's Schweich Lectures on the above-named subject have now been published. They are three in number—the first dealing with ancient Mesopotamian ritual; the second with the 'Canaanite' ritual portrayed in the documents unearthed at Ras Shamra; and the third with the pre-Prophetic ritual of Israel. It should be noted that, while no better name than 'Canaan' offers for the Eastern littoral of the Mediterranean, Ras Shamra or Ugarit (to use the ancient name) lies far north of the region where Israel settled, and that, while its documents refer sometimes to Canaan in the narrower sense, their *locus* lies outside it. Again, 'pre-Prophetic' is Professor Hooke's name for the period before the *written* Prophets, Amos and the rest. Only the relatively few scholars who are acquainted with the several languages of the ancient East could 'review' this book in one sense, for no one else is competent to discuss, for instance, the translation of the recently discovered Ugarit texts. But here, of course, a scholar of Professor Hooke's eminence may be trusted to give the reader warning where there is considerable difference of opinion, and, where he does not do this, it may be taken that the experts are sufficiently well agreed. The material given for Mesopotamia is not new, but 'general readers' will find here one of the most readily usable accounts of many of the 'finds' both there and at Ugarit.

But Professor Hooke's chief purpose is not to collect facts but to expound and illustrate a theory, and it is a theory with which some experts do not agree. It might perhaps be called 'The Ritual Pattern Theory'. According to this, ritual was mainly or even wholly intended to enact myth, and, within the areas named above, it is maintained that the myths and the ritual were broadly the same, though there were great local divergences in detail. As Professor Hooke intimates, the theory has its clearest illustration in the archaeological records of ancient Babylonia. This, indeed, explains why he gives a chapter to them. The evidence of the Ugarit records is not quite so clear, and finally, for the pre-Prophetic ritual of the mingled Hebrew-Canaanite race we are reduced to fragmentary hints in the surviving documents. It is at this point that doubts are most urgent. On Professor Hooke's theory the Hebrews succumbed altogether to the religion of the Canaanites. Others point out that when they entered Canaan, they entered as the enemies of the Canaanites and that this means that they were the enemies of Canaanite religion. These scholars sometimes go on to say that the Hebrews brought with them a nomadic religion, and that, while many of them gradually adopted Canaanite practices (as the Old Testament itself states), there is no sufficient evidence that *all* of them *completely* did so. It is true, for instance, as Professor Hooke says, that where there is a prohibition, there is the practice of the thing prohibited—but this is only part of the truth. The command, 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk', which the Ugarit 'finds' show to refer to a Canaanite custom, implies *both*

that some people did so seethe a kid, and that others repudiated the custom. Again, as Professor Hooke implies, there is an opinion that the Passover is not ultimately derived from the Canaanites but from the Desert. The non-expert can only wait till the experts have reached something like general agreement. Meanwhile Professor Hooke has given us a valuable study in the theory that he so ably espouses. As he himself says, on this theory as on others, the unique religious achievement of the Prophets becomes clearer and clearer as the archaeologists do their work.

C. RYDER SMITH

The History of Primitive Christianity. By Johannes Weiss. Completed by Rudolf Knopf. Translated by Four Friends and edited by F. C. Grant. (Macmillan. 2 vols. 42s.)

Johannes Weiss, the most versatile and accomplished New Testament scholar in Germany, died less than a month after the outbreak of the war in his fifty-first year. During that short life he produced a large number of books, every one of which is well worthy of study. But his crowning work was *Das Urchristentum*, which was left unfinished at his death, but completed by his friend Professor Knopf, the author of the standard history of the Post-Apostolic Age, who himself died in 1921. Ever since the close of the war it has been strongly felt that Weiss's masterpiece ought to be published in an English translation. At last, thanks to American scholarship and American enterprise, this has been done. As one who has constantly used the book for the last seventeen years, the present reviewer rejoices that the riches contained in its pages, with the ample footnotes, are now available for a far wider circle of students. When compared with other histories of Primitive Christianity its merits are even more conspicuous. Pfeleiderer is one-sided, Weizsäcker is antiquated, Eduard Meyer, vast as was his learning as an Orientalist, seems but an amateur in the broad field of New Testament scholarship, when compared with Johannes Weiss. Of course most readers will find numerous points upon which they will be provoked to vigorous disagreement, but they will find that Weiss brought to the examination of the literary and historical evidence a judicial mind, and they will feel throughout the warmth of a deeply religious heart. It must be remembered that had the author lived he was going to follow this volume with another dealing with Jesus and Early Christianity. Thus, although there are some valuable pages about the Gospels, the greater part of the book is concerned with Acts and the Pauline writings, of which we have almost a running commentary. There is a remarkably fine treatment of Paul the man and his theology and his ethics. The fifth book gives an account of the separate areas, Judaea, Syria, Asia Minor, Macedonia and Achaia, Rome. It is at the beginning of the chapter on Asia Minor that the Editor takes up his task, but happily there are various articles by Johannes Weiss in the *P.R.E.* and the *R.G.G.* which enabled the Editor to guess the general lines which the author would have

followed. Nevertheless, some readers will feel a special grief that they can never have Weiss's own treatment of the Johannine Gospel and Epistle.

For our own part we are most grateful for the masterly summary of the gifts and grace bestowed upon the Apostle Paul, and for the illuminating way in which his presentation of the Jesus of history and the Christ of experience and faith is set before us. We might also refer to innumerable footnotes in which an argument by Bousset or some other brilliant theorist is clearly outlined and criticized. Sometimes a few sentences, as in the brief paragraphs about the Gospels, reveal as in a flash the principles which have since been laboriously worked out by others in ways that Weiss himself would probably have criticized in a few brief notes.

But we are now concerned less with the book which has been before the world for a score of years than with the translation which we so warmly welcome. Let it be said at once that this is, on the whole, a brilliant success. The text reads smoothly, and to some extent the work has been brought down to date by additions to the footnotes, mentioning books published since 1914. The great majority are American, and sometimes we are tempted to think that a larger representation of works by English scholars would have strengthened the list. But after all we are far too much in danger of neglecting first-rate books published in the States, and as this task has been shouldered by Americans we must not grudge them this piece of legitimate self-advertisement.

Our chief criticism is that uniformity has not been secured in the treatment of references in the notes. Dr. Grant himself, when referring to Bousset's *Religion of Judaism*, properly gives the pages in the final edition revised by Gressman. But some of his colleagues leave the references as given by Weiss to pages in an earlier edition. The treatment of Troeltsch's *Soziallehren* is strange. On p. 564 it is quoted from the German edition with a page reference, although actually the translation is lifted bodily from Miss Wyon's translation without any acknowledgement, or reference to the English edition (it should be E.T., i. pp. 70-71).

Yet on p. 586 we have two independent renderings from the German. (These will be found as E.T., i, 72 and 75.) But Dr. Grant (pp. 72 and 76) does give references to the English edition. The translators seem to be ignorant that Friedländer's great book was published by Routledge in an English translation in four volumes under the title *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (1908-13). There should be consistency in referring to Deissmann's *Paul* and his *Light from the Ancient East* by the pages in the latest English editions. In the same way references to the *Mishna* should be given in Canon Danby's standard English edition. The translators apparently do not know that Kautsky's weird book has been given an English translation under the title *The Foundations of Christianity* (see pp. 68 and 74). Dibelius's earliest important work is rightly translated on p. 599 *The Spirit-world in the Belief of Paul*, but on p. 548 rather mislead-

ingly as *The Spiritual World in Paul's Faith*. The footnotes on pp. 298 and 356 should perhaps have been completed by a reference to A. C. Clark's emendation based on the Western text of *Dobraios* for *Derbaiois*; that on p. 109 should not ignore Rendel Harris's *Testimonies*, parts i and ii; that on p. 388 should refer to Ramsay for the settlement of the old difficulty about Col. ii. 18. Surely, a note ought to have been added to that of Weiss on p. 569, where it is stated, 'We still lack a really comprehensive investigation of the word *agape* along the line of linguistics and the history of religion and morals, and of the ideals contained in the word; and such an investigation is urgently needed'. Within the last ten years we have had three important additions of that kind. They are Moffatt's *Love in the New Testament*, Nygren's *Agape and Eros*, and the articles by Quell and Stauffer in *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, pp. 20-55. Finally, Knopf's discussion of the letter of Polycarp on p. 818 should now be supplemented by a reference to that most important book by P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians*.

The printing has been done with extraordinary care. But two Greek words have got out of place on p. 594, line 17. They should follow the word 'content' in the line above. On p. 673, note 24, the translator has taken a phrase in connexion with the wrong word and spoiled the sense. 'Cf. also Lk. i. 2, "as they (of the second generation) delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word".' Obviously this should be 'as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word delivered them unto us (of the second generation)'.

It has been a delight to read through this admirable translation of one of the greatest German books written upon the New Testament and Primitive Christian life and thought. If Johannes Weiss is being neglected to some extent in the land of his birth, he ought now to come into his own in the English-speaking world. The present writer is by no means the only student who regards his first reading of *Das Urchristentum* as marking the beginning of a new epoch in his intellectual life. Dr. Grant and his friends should bring a host of young students to a grateful recognition of the value of this great teacher.

W. F. HOWARD

The Philosophy of Whitehead. By Rasvihary Das, M.A., Ph.D. (James Clarke & Co. 6s.)

Anything that can throw light on the obscure and alluring philosophy of Whitehead deserves a welcome. Though Dr. Das says he cannot pretend he has grasped every point in the system he expounds, that is no more than any candid reader of Whitehead will admit. For Whitehead's mind is more flexible than his pen, and moreover, his peculiar terminology presents its own difficulties. Dr. Das chooses as his method of exposition that of taking one by one the leading topics with which Whitehead deals, such as entities, objects, perception, feelings, God, truth and so forth. Not the least helpful chapter is that which deals with some of the unsolved difficulties of Whitehead's

position. Naturally Dr. Das's Indian outlook makes him disturbed by the dualism of Whitehead, and he looks anxiously for a reconciliation which never appears. Yet in many ways it is clear that acquaintance with Upanishad philosophy, much above that which the ordinary Western scholar attains, has helped Dr. Das to grasp shades of significance in Whitehead which would not otherwise have been realized. Considering the obscurity and intricacy of the subject, Dr. Das has made his exposition remarkably clear. One seldom is at a loss to see what he means, whatever may be the case with the writer he expounds. At times one is left wondering whether it is Dr. Das or one's self who has not grasped Whitehead's meaning, but none the less, the book is certainly a definite, sympathetic and readable expression of the meaning, or apparent meaning, of a great and original thinker whose very originality is apt to leave all his readers guessing. On the whole Dr. Das guesses well, and it is certain that those who seek to understand Whitehead will find valuable help in his very useful exposition.

E. S. WATERHOUSE

Studies in the Philosophy of Religion. By Archibald Allan Bowman, M.A., Litt.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1938, 2 vols. 30s. net.)

This work under the above title was, we are told by Professor Norman Kemp Smith, already completed by Professor Bowman in first draft in 1924. It had been continually revised by the author up to the time of his death a few years ago, but is without that final amplification, excision, and general supervision which, had he lived to see it published, he would have given it. Professor Kemp Smith of Edinburgh is responsible both for its editing and for the memorial introduction on its author. This latter serves to place the work against the background of Professor Bowman's life and of the development of his thought in Princeton and Glasgow. The title—*Studies in the Philosophy of Religion*—for which Professor Kemp Smith also takes responsibility—is one that has been used before, for example by the late Professor Pringle-Pattison: but its general character perhaps excuses repetition.

The work is divided into three parts. Part I is introductory, dealing in general terms with the method of approach to the subject. Part II discusses in considerable detail the questions raised by the anthropological study of religion—Animism and Totemism, Animatism, Taboo, the Idea of Holiness, and so on. The position reached is that religion at this stage of its development is the joint product of man's desire to live and his animistic point of view; and, further, that the union of these two factors implies a 'personalist' interpretation of Nature—'personalist' not in the sense that primitive man imports personality into Nature, but that he has not learned to abstract personality from Nature. 'It is not so much that he has a clear notion of the personal, as that he has none whatever of the impersonal. He does not begin with "spirit" and proceed to "embody" the latter in natural objects. Rather it is of bodies that he is thinking all along; and what he does is to attribute to Nature in general the same capacity

for free movement and responsible action which he discovers in his own body and in the bodies of his fellows.'

Part III deals with 'Questions which concern the *Concept of Religion*', and Part IV with 'Questions which bear on the *Validity of Religion*'. These two Parts constitute the philosophical substance of the work, and might have been given the title which Professor Bowman seems himself at one time to have had in mind, namely 'The Logic of Religious Belief'. Part III is concerned with reaching a well-defined concept of religion in the light of its subsequent history; subsequent, that is, to its beginnings as viewed by anthropology. Since a survey of the world's religions is out of the question, the author takes his departure from a few central points, discussing what is called 'the Self-Criticism of Religion' in Hebrew literature, in the Mysticism of the East, in the Defining of its Relations to the Impersonal, in the Defining of its Relations to the Secular, and in the Defining of its Relations to Morality. The concluding chapter of Part III discusses 'Christianity and the Completed Concept of Religion'.

It is impossible here to discuss at length Professor Bowman's reasoned positions in these chapters. It is clear that he is greatly concerned to maintain, as against *Eastern Mysticism* (I would italicize the 'Eastern', because frequently the term 'mysticism' is used as if that is the only kind which merits the term), that religion is bound up with 'the preservation of the *finite*'. In this he is in the theistic line of Lotze, who protested against the disposition which commonly governs the pantheistic imagination—the suppression of all that is finite in favour of the infinite, the inclination to regard all that is of value to the living soul as transitory, empty, and frail in comparison of the majesty of the One upon Whose formal properties of immensity, unity, eternity and inexhaustible fullness it concentrates all its reverence'. Professor Bowman says: 'A universe which is all God is as incompatible with religion as a universe in which a god is altogether wanting. From the mystical point of view, dominated by the idea of a complete identification of the finite with the infinite, religion is a part of the general illusion of finitude; and the emancipation from the conditions of finite existence is an emancipation from religion as well. To be completely lost in God is to lose God completely. To become *one* with the One that knows no other is to cease to be His worshipper.' One of the most interesting discussions in Part III is that on the retreat of Religion in face of the 'secularist' attitude. Professor Bowman's conclusion here is that 'the development of a secular standpoint can be understood only from the religious point of view. It is a phenomenon of the process by which . . . religion advances beyond its own animistic beginnings'. 'The secular standpoint is not the product of science; science is *its* product. The part of the sciences has been to occupy the room so carefully prepared for them by religion in the interest of its own self-protection.' But does such self-protection not spell self-destruction? Professor Bowman's negative answer to this immediately-raised question leads

to a discussion of the Finite and the Infinite, the Conditioned and the Unconditioned. 'The world of finite things with the relationships between them is the secular world. In this world man lives and moves; and until its nature as such is clearly realized, the nature of the true infinite will remain more or less obscure. There will be a constant danger of confusing it with the finite. To eliminate this tendency is among the functions of religion.'

Part IV—on the *validity* of religion—is a closely reasoned discussion of the final metaphysical questions, leading up to the doctrines of God and of eternal life to which religion is committed. The work closes abruptly with a brief—all too brief—chapter of 'Concluding Reflections' to which the reader, somewhat tired and perhaps, at times, even irritated by the unnecessarily involved reasoning and analysis which have preceded, will turn with eagerness. Unhappily the author did not live to amplify this chapter, and to justify the statement it contains: 'There are truths to which reasoning and analysis are the only key; but there are truths which are revelations of experience itself; and philosophy can never hope to take the place of experience.'

The whole work is a piece of very solid and comprehensive thinking, reflecting a mind of logical acuteness and moral conviction. If the reader is conscious in places of diffuseness and of argumentative circularity he will remember that the author did not live to see his book through the press. And books expressive of direct vision are few.

Finally, Professor Kemp Smith is to be warmly thanked for the sub-titles within each chapter, as well as for his other services. An index of subject-matters, in addition to that of proper names, prepared by Mrs. Bowman, would have added to the reader's sense of gratitude.

C. J. WRIGHT

A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships. By Professor Allan Barr. (T. & T. Clark. 4s.)

Since W. G. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*, published nearly sixty years ago, many attempts have been made by the use of different coloured inks to encourage the student of the Synoptic Problem. Professor Allan Barr has now published *A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships*, an elaborate and scholarly work, which by the use of different colours and lines sets before the student in a very clear way the material on which the theories of the use of Mark by Matthew and Luke: of the existence of the document called Q; of Proto-Luke, &c. are based. Having the whole before him in a single conspectus the student can appreciate by a study of the diagram almost at a glance what can only be grasped after many hours of patient comparison of the text of one Gospel with another. As many students have proved for themselves, such problems are much more absorbing when studied in the Greek text than in the English (and some of the conclusions are much more convincing with the original rather than a translation before one), but this diagram can be used profitably by those who

have only the R.V. before them as well as by readers of the Greek text. It folds like a map, and the author has preceded it by a short survey of the problem. We commend the diagram to all who would seriously try to understand the relations between the first three Gospels.

F. B. CLOGG

Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri (in the John Rylands Library, Manchester), Volume III, Theological and Literary Texts (Nos. 457-551), edited by C. H. Roberts, M.A. (Manchester University Press.)

The Rylands collection of papyri originated in finds made in Egypt by Grenfell and Hunt in 1895-1907. The first catalogue of the papyri, prepared by A. S. Hunt, dealt with the literary texts, and appeared in 1911. Volume II, prepared by the same scholar with two collaborators and comprising documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, followed in 1915. On the death of Dr. Hunt in 1934 the preparation of the present volume (III) fell to Mr. C. H. Roberts, Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. To the material left over from the original Grenfell-Hunt collection there had been added further papyri obtained by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1916-17 and a collection bought for the Library by Grenfell in 1920. The present instalment comprises ninety-five texts, and amply attests the consummate skill of Mr. Roberts in handling all this delicate and diversified material. Most cordial thanks are due to him for the work of decipherment and the careful editing, which supplies the reader with full introductions, commentary, and indices.

For many of the readers of this journal the main interest will lie in the biblical and theological texts (fifteen in number) here published. Pride of place is rightly given to two Greek texts which, because of their outstanding importance, had been previously published for the Rylands Library in two separate monographs by Mr. Roberts. The first is the tiny but precious fragment of John xviii. 31-4, 37-8. Incidentally, since it is part of a papyrus codex which presumably contained the Fourth Gospel only, this leaf affords further evidence that the early Christians preferred the codex to the usual roll form. But its real significance lies in the fact that it is the earliest known fragment of the New Testament, and probably our earliest evidence of the existence of the Fourth Gospel. On paleographical grounds the fragment may be confidently assigned to the first half of the second century A.D., say about A.D. 140. Since, then, the Fourth Gospel was in circulation in middle Egypt at that time, its origin elsewhere must date considerably earlier, probably about A.D. 100 or 110. This offers one among other evidences that rule out a very late date for St. John's Gospel. The second fragment is much older still. It is part of a papyrus roll which contained sections of Deuteronomy (xxiii.-xxviii.) along with some miscellaneous pieces. It clearly dates from the second century B.C. Hitherto the earliest known MS. of any part of the Septuagint dates from about A.D. 150.

This Deuteronomic fragment antedates by 300 years any other manuscript portion of the Greek Bible. The origin of the Septuagint is obscure. But it is generally agreed that the Pentateuch at least was translated in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). Here then we have the fragment of a roll only some hundred years later than the date of the first translation of the Old Testament into Greek. Moreover, the fragment has considerable textual value. It is in line with the tendency of recent research to modify the view long held that B (*Codex Vaticanus*) 'on the whole presents the version of the LXX in its relatively oldest form'. This earliest text of Deuteronomy has more affinities with A (*Codex Alexandrinus*) than with B, a feature characteristic also of the Chester-Beatty papyrus of Deuteronomy and in the main of the LXX citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Among the remaining theological texts mention can only be made of fragments of the Gospel of Mary and of an Epistle against the Manichees.

A valuable feature of the collection is the inclusion of ten Latin texts, among which we may single out portions of Sallust's *Histories* and of Virgil's *Aeneid I*. A goodly number of new classical texts (Greek) includes a new speech by Lysias. To these may be added selections from extant Greek authors, e.g. Homer, Euripides, and Xenophon, along with some miscellaneous items of a technical character. The whole volume, which includes ten plates, is splendidly produced by the printer to the University of Oxford, and is a delight for eye and hand.

In some minor points interpretations other than those offered by the editor may suggest themselves. In the fragment of the Gospel of Mary (No. 463) Mr. Roberts thinks that to take *asphalōs* with *ēgapēsen* rather than with *eidōs* 'slightly improves the sense'. But 'to love surely' is a less familiar phrase than 'to know surely', for which cf. Wisdom xviii. 6, Acts ii. 36, and 1 Clem. i. 2. For *agapaō* thus left without an object expressed cf. Jeremiah v. 31, Luke vii. 47. In No. 465 the title *pambasileus* (conjoined with *sōtēr*) is interesting in view of Sirach l. 15 (17). Have we here another imperial designation (it is used of Hadrian, compare the Aristotelian *pambasileia*) appropriated to religious usage? In 467 the use of *naī*, *kurie* in an invocation is paralleled in Judith ix. 12, Rev. xvi. 7. There is a difficult reconstruction in 468. If *katargēsanta* could be read this would yield a good sense, 'crippled the power of death' (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 26, 2 Tim. i. 10, and especially Heb. ii. 14). The sense of 'adversity' for *peristasis* (470) is seen in 2 Maccabees iv. 16.

We eagerly anticipate Vol. IV, which is to include the non-literary papyri of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods from 3 B.C. to A.D. 6. As the non-literary documents are of great significance for our understanding of the language of the Greek Bible in both its halves, this final part should prove to be highly instructive. It is an especial pleasure to acknowledge (with the editor) the high service rendered to papyrological studies by Dr. H. Guppy, the distinguished head of the John Rylands Library.

H. G. MEECHAM

The Bible and its Literary Associations. By Margaret B. Crook and other members of the Faculty of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. (Abingdon Press. \$2.50.)

This is a most interesting book. It covers a wide field: but each subject is treated with understanding. The following are amongst the chapters: 'The Septuagint', 'The Emergence of the Christian Bible', 'The Bible in the Roman World of the Fifth Century', 'The Bible in German before Luther', 'Luther's Bible', 'The King James Version'. There are some interesting chapters on the influence of the Bible, on English Literature. A chapter is given to the theme 'Milton and the Bible', and another to 'The Bible in the hands of Richard Baxter, John Bunyan, and George Fox'. Bibliographies are supplied to inspire further reading in the subjects treated. The suggestions given there will be of great help to all who wish to make a further study of the subjects discussed. The reading of this book has taught us once again how great is the debt which we owe to the many translators who have laboured through the long centuries. The debt we owe to them will be more clearly realized by all who read these interesting essays. They will deepen our reverence for the names of Wycliffe, Erasmus, Luther, Tyndale, and a host of others. Many readers of this book will find much to interest them in the chapter which deals with the influence of the Bible upon the writings of De Quincey and Thomas Hardy. We heartily commend this book. We believe that it will show to many how the Bible came to us, and reveal the greatness of its treasure. This book will be of worth to all Bible students. Its value will not only be realized in its usefulness as a book of reference, but also in its inspiration.

W. B. BRASH

Symbolism and Belief. By Edwyn Bevan, LL.D., D.Litt. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

A book by Dr. Edwyn Bevan is always welcome. His Gifford Lectures, published under the title of *Symbolism and Belief*, show his range of knowledge and his clarity both of thought and expression. They illustrate also his interest in the teaching of the Roman Church, particularly of Aquinas, and, at least on the subject of these Lectures, his preference for the Hebraic way of approach to the Greek. This is remarkable in so good an Hellenist. The reader, again, will find many illuminating references to current French and German literature. Among contemporary English writers Dr. Bevan has, for instance, a very slightly qualified admiration for the books of Professor A. E. Taylor, and a more qualified lack of admiration for those of Dean Inge. He speaks of Freud's 'jargon'. The book is well printed, though the absence of page-headings makes reference to particular chapters less easy. I have only noted two mis-prints (pp. 198, 349). One of these—in a reference to a Buddhist monk, who was 'as a matter of face, a Scot'—is a little curious. There is a very interesting illustration from a meeting between 'a writer of Christian devotional books' and 'an

eminent man of science'. The former referred to the unparalleled influence of Jesus Christ through nineteen centuries, whereupon the latter replied, 'I altogether agree with you; but I think it has been a very bad influence'. Dr. Bevan doubts whether there is any way to turn the defences of an honest unbeliever of this kind.

It would not be easy to suggest a better title for the book, but readers should be warned that it does not deal with such distinctively Christian symbols as the Sacraments. Again, four lectures on image-worship and allied subjects have been omitted, though happily we are promised these at a later date. In an Introductory Lecture the author further limits his scope. He proposes to deal not with arbitrary symbols (of which most *words* are an example), but with symbols 'in which resemblance of some sort between the symbol and the thing symbolized is essential'. Of these he selects five, which will presently be named, devoting nine lectures to them. There follow six other lectures on a variety of related subjects. It is not possible in a short review to do justice to the rich content of the lectures, taken one by one. There is no subject that Dr. Bevan does not illuminate. Where he does solve a problem, he takes care to let the reader see this, but even where he does not solve a problem, he elucidates its nature.

The five symbols chosen for lengthened discussion are 'Height', 'Time', 'Light', 'Spirit', and 'Wrath'. Of every one there is an illuminating and fruitful discussion. The first four are taken from inanimate Nature and the fifth from the behaviour of men. It is plain that others might have been selected from the second realm, for we speak not only of 'the wrath of God' but of His 'love', His 'righteousness', His 'faithfulness' and so on. The reason for the selection of 'wrath' probably is that the author, here as everywhere else, is alive to contemporary thought. Under 'wrath' he has much to say of current error, as he thinks it, and he says this, rather than give us one more exposition of the 'love' of God. The subject of 'wrath' involves that of punishment, and Dr. Bevan puts in an able defence of the old Platonic concept that in punishment there is a retributive element as well as preventive and remedial elements. It was high time that someone did this, for it is too often taken for granted nowadays that retribution is nothing but a vice. At least the subject demands discussion, and it will not be found easy to rebut Dr. Bevan's argument, even by those who can look at the chaos of the world now and deny that there is truth in the old doctrine of 'the wrath of God'. There is another instance of the author's interest in current discussion in his examination of the ancient claim, best known to-day in the writings of Dean Inge, that the nearest possible approximation for men to the idea of 'eternity' in God is the *Nunc Stans* 'in which there is nothing like temporal succession'. To one reader, at least, it seems as if much of Dr. Bevan's argument here builds upon the very 'temporal succession' that the theory repudiates. To use a phrase that he does not use, it is easy, of course, to show that a man cannot 'jump away from his own shadow', but this only means that all *our* thinking is conditioned by time. It follows, of course, that to us a

Nunc Stans is inconceivable, but then our author admits that *all* attempts to express 'eternity' are at best hints of a reality at which we can only dimly guess, and some, at least, of the advocates of the *Nunc Stans* say just this of their own attempt. Dr. Bevan, however, raises a further interesting question. He asks whether 'eternal life' for men has in it 'nothing like temporal succession', however this may be for God. This is a point to which Christian philosophers will perhaps now turn more attention than they have usually done.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to consider all the subjects that Dr. Bevan discusses in the six lectures that follow his exposition of the five great symbols that he has selected for detailed examination, but it must suffice to give the titles of the lectures—'Distinction of Literal and Symbolical', 'Symbols without Conceptual Meaning', 'Pragmatism and Analogy', 'Mansel and Pragmatism', 'Rationalism and Mysticism', and 'The Justification of Belief'—and to make one or two comments. There is a discussion of the supposedly 'undogmatic religion', that claims that symbol alone is essential to religion and that it does not depend upon any statement about any historical person. Here Dr. Bevan shows that, whatever may be thought of the truth of Christianity (a subject that lies beyond the limits of Gifford Lecturers), it does, as a matter of fact, stand or fall with the claim that 'Jesus is a Person still active, not only through the memory of his past life, but in the reality of his present life, in intercourse with the souls of men'. This refers, of course, to what some call 'Pauline Mysticism'. Dr. Bevan keeps the term 'Mysticism' for the experiences of Hindu *jogis* and for the Medieval mystics whose doctrines derived, as he says, not from the New Testament, but from the Neoplatonists through the false Dionysius. He seems to go on to say that not only is the direct 'perception of God' absent in the peculiar experience of this kind of Mystic, but it is not possible in any form. For him, to quote the last words of his book, 'What actually causes anyone to believe in God is direct perception of the Divine'—but not the direct 'perception of God' (p. 354). This, of course, raises the question whether when Christians claim that Christ is 'in intercourse with' their souls, they have a 'direct perception' either of Christ or of God or of both. When Dr. Bevan's whole discussion is recalled, it seems hardly possible to confine 'perception' to 'perception through the senses'. It seems to follow that in 'Pauline Mysticism' he would claim that a Christian directly 'knows Christ' but does not directly 'know God'.

It is interesting, again, to find Dr. Bevan dis-interring Mansel, and claiming that his teaching, when stripped of certain errors, points to the truth. It is also interesting to find that our author admits more kinds of ultimate 'values' than the three usually given—goodness, truth and beauty. He would add at least the 'numinous' with Otto, the pure or clean, and the splendid. To sum up, the reader will find this book full of suggestive thought on many subjects, and of convincing argument on not a few.

C. RYDER SMITH

The High Ways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides,
Vol. II. By Samuel Rosenblatt. (Humphrey Milford. 23s.)

The first fifth of this work by Abraham Maimonides, the only son of the illustrious Moses Maimonides, was edited by Mr. Rosenblatt in 1927. The present volume consists of the remaining four-fifths. It comprises over 400 pages, in which an English translation is given *vis-à-vis* the Arabic original, which is printed in Hebrew characters eked out by Arabic signs, as was customary in medieval Judæo-Arabic writings. The seven chapters deal with Humility, Faith, Contentedness, Abstinence, Zealousness, Government of the Faculties, and Solitude. Each of these disciplines is, after the fashion of the mystics, a 'path' leading to reunion with God. 'The course that unites one with God consists of travelling through all of them and traversing the various stages of every path and reaching its end, or to traverse most of its stages until one approaches its end.' Each path is superior to that which precedes it, and a higher path is of imperfect benefit without knowledge of the one that precedes it. Not that one must be pursued to its end before the next is entered upon; the superiority is of rank rather than of time. This may sound like pure Sufism; but the Jewish sage would not go so far. All his references to the Sufis are sympathetic, even wistful. He seems to say that they are the true heirs of the patriarchs and prophets. But, Jew that he is, family and social loyalties claim him, and he cannot completely deny 'this nether world', even if he would. He is true to the Torah, and from it and the historical books of the Old Testament he draws illustration after illustration, in the best Haggadic manner. He is very fond, too, as we might expect, of 'Solomon', that is, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, and therefore in the last resort it is reason that decides. In this he is an apt pupil of his more famous father. There is a grace and fragrance about these leisurely moralizings that is very refreshing in this hard-driven age. One does not need to be an expert Talmudist, nor even a Jew, to appreciate them. Anyone who loves his *Religio Medici* will find something of the same charm and whimsicality in the writing of Abraham Maimonides. Whether he was a doctor I cannot discover. Even the *Jewish Encyclopedia* is silent about him, another illustration, perhaps, of the truth that a man is unfortunate who has a genius for his father. But Maimonides *père* was a doctor, and there are in this book, besides references to Galen, passages that suggest that the son was too. This may serve to underline the comparison with Sir Thomas Browne.

C. R. NORTH

John Wesley und das Deutsche Kirchenlied. By John L. Nuelsen. (Anker-Verlag, Bremen.)

Dr. Nuelsen has published in Germany, a careful study of John Wesley and the German Hymns. He surveys the period before Methodism was founded and shows how the art of hymn-singing as we know it, was almost non-existent save for the Ancient Hymns and the Liturgies. The illiteracy of the people was general and the

hymns of the Revival were of inestimable value since they could be learned by heart. Wesley studied the German language on his way to Georgia in order to converse with the Moravians who were his fellow passengers. He learned their hymns and in his first hymn-book (published at Charlestown in Georgia) there are five translations from the German. The influence of the Moravians was very great, and afterwards thirty-three of their hymns were to be found in the Methodist collections. These hymns did much to prepare the heart of Wesley for the great experience of 1738. Other Protestant Churches used the translations with great profit. An appendix to the work compares the original German hymns with Wesley's virile and remarkable translations. Wesley's choice of hymns for translation was excellent. To-day in the German churches eleven of the original hymns translated by Wesley are still sung. The influence of the German hymns on English hymn-writing was extensive. Wesley's talent for translation was almost that of a genius and the relations thus established between English and German piety continue. Dr. Nuelson deplors the fact that Germany has not adopted some of the Great Methodist hymns as translations from the English, and regrets that no one comparable with Wesley arose at that time to influence Germany as Wesley did England. The research work of Dr. Nuelson into the originals of the translated hymns is worthy of praise and this book is a real addition to the study of Hymnology.

Sir, We Would See Jesus. By D. T. Niles. (S.C.M. Press. 2s.)

The Church in Ceylon has, in Rev. D. T. Niles, a young Tamil with a passion for evangelism and an alert mind. He has written a book on the aims and methods of the Church Overseas, particularly in India and Ceylon. These studies are relevant to the situation in Europe and America for evangelism is the supreme task of the Church Universal. His plea for the rationale and the practice of evangelism constitute chapters in this volume, and each are of intrinsic value. In evangelism and approach, attitude and atmosphere are vital to success. The two chapters on the evangelizing and the indigenous Church should have the earnest attention of us all. The three appendices offer much information and guidance for leaders, and the questionnaire at the close will conserve the things gained by the study of the book.

Sermons. By H. R. Mackintosh, D.D. With Memoir by A. B. Macaulay, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7s.)

It is two years since Dr. Mackintosh was suddenly called to Higher Service, and some such volume as this has been eagerly awaited by his many admirers, and by the great company who feel deeply indebted to his scholarship and the inspiration of that rich spirit of devotion so manifest in all his work. The book is introduced with a memoir by Dr. Macaulay. This tribute of a close friend is as delightful in its outline, language and spirit as thirty odd pages could well make it.

It is the language of loving friendship overflowing in remembrance of a sacred relationship to one who still lives and will ever live. Into such live writing has passed the heart pulse of abiding friendship. It makes an altogether delightful introduction to the eighteen sermons which follow. These have been selected from a number which Professor Mackintosh had revised and preached frequently in different parts of the country. They are characteristic of his deep personal faith and of his rich and varied gifts. They are above all practical discourses, they get right down to the living work-a-day life of the ordinary man. This is not to be wondered at for it is the characteristic note of the Scottish pulpit, whether the preacher be professor or parish minister. Yet there is also a deep mystical experience manifest throughout the discourses. Abiding in Christ was the loving dynamic secret of this scholar-saint, who was also an effective preacher. A book to keep and take down from the shelves at times and seasons of the soul.

Did Christ Really Live? By H. G. Wood. (S. C. M. Press. 5s.)

The effect on the average member of the Church on glimpsing such a title as this will be one of some bewilderment as to the necessity for such a question. Yet to peruse the book is to learn with what virility the foundations of the Faith have been and are being assailed. Dr. Wood is an expert historian and New Testament scholar and has all the equipment for dealing with this vital question for the benefit of those who initiate the attack, although only one answer is possible. The subject is handled in a searching and vivid fashion for those who can follow the careful unravelling and disentangling of fact from fiction. Ultimately, the question is would it matter to the Christian Faith if it could be proved that Jesus never lived. There are some who say that the value of Christianity would be unaffected, and it is because books are still being circulated which maintain that the Gospel story is merely a myth that there is good room for this thorough-going book. The detailed examination of the theories of the Christ myth as they appeared to J. M. Robertson in particular reveals the utter weakness of such fiction-weaving. Christ is not only established in history by scientific historical research, but what is altogether to the meaning of His Evangel, He is established to-day in countless lives. He stands at the centre of history, and if we have any sense for reality, we cannot escape His challenge, whether we believe it or not, whether we like it or not, He died for us and rose again for our justification.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER

A Guide to the Old Testament: For the Use of Teachers.
By Lieutenant-Colonel E. N. Mozley, D.S.O. (S.C.M. Press. 3s. 6d. net.)

This book by the Headmaster of a Preparatory School is based on the practical experience of a teacher who knows his subject and is not afraid of truth. It is an endeavour to help those who know little of their Bible as well as those whose business it is to teach or to learn the Old Testament. It is modern without being academic. The

results of biblical scholarship and research are made available in a handy form. The book consists mainly of textual notes on the books of the Old Testament, with an analysis of their subject-matter; while by means of various signs attention is drawn to passages of special beauty or outstanding importance. It is, as the author says, 'essentially selective'; in other words a guide rather than a commentary. It is inspired by the belief in frankness—that 'in the long run more harm always comes from withholding truth than from announcing it'. A list of passages recommended for reading from the Apocrypha is given, and an appendix tabulates some very useful Old Testament information. A most serviceable handbook.

Ancient Smyrna. By Cecil John Cadoux, M.A., D.D. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 25s. net.).

To students of early Christianity the most interesting part of this well-documented book on ancient Smyrna will be the section that deals with the period connected with the work of Paul, Polycarp, and Ignatius; other students will find in the earlier chapters the careful researches of a scholar in the development of the city in pre-Hellenic, Hellenic, Roman, and pagan times. The writer can be accepted as a sure guide in this somewhat complicated period of history in which he has done much research work through many years. Sir William Ramsay wrote that 'very little has been written on its history, and no proper study has been made of the literary and monumental evidence on the subject'. Dr. Cadoux has made that statement out of date. Though the preparation of this book, with its long footnotes, must have meant a great amount of labour, the author has found pleasure in his task. 'There is a curious satisfaction in endeavouring to synthesize into something like a systematic whole the almost countless items of information scattered over the pages of classical works, Greek histories, and modern learned periodicals.' Interesting as many will find this study of ancient Smyrna, a larger number would welcome an account of the Smyrna which was brought into prominence during the war, when the ill-fated Greeks were driven from the city, which was afterwards almost destroyed by the Turks who are now trying to rebuild the place. Dr. Cadoux hopes to produce a second volume bringing the history from A.D. 324, the limit of the present book, to modern times.

A. R. SLATER

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Development of Religious Toleration in England, Vol. III
 —From the Convention of the Long Parliament to the
 Restoration (1640–1660). By W. K. Jordan, Ph.D.
 (George Allen & Unwin. 21s.)

Following upon two volumes on the development of religious toleration in England, which survey the subject from the beginning of the English Reformation down to the Convention of the Long Parliament, Dr. Jordan has now concluded the third volume of what the publishers rightly describe as a 'monumental work'. The subject itself is one of vast interest and importance, and Elizabeth seems to have been the first to give to it anything like prominence. She was tolerant and prompted her Government to be tolerant: indeed, the tolerance of the Elizabethan regime is all the more remarkable as contrasted with the various expressions of intolerance which characterized the period preceding it, to say nothing of the masterfulness of the early Stuarts and of the ecclesiastical policy of Laud. That there was abundant need for spiritual freedom was all too manifest, and the more it is realized how deeply religion was mingled with politics at the time of the Civil War the more obvious it becomes that the nation was fighting for liberty in a very comprehensive sense. True, this liberty when attained was variously interpreted both in theory and in practice. Romanists saw little enough of it, while the English Presbyterians met the old Anglo-Catholic intolerance with an equally stout intolerance of their own. The political alliance with Scotland, which was valued as a help to Charles' enemies to get rid of him, was purchased at the price of a religious alliance, and that price was too high for the nation to pay, at least in the opinion of Cromwell and his followers, because the paying of it would leave England bankrupt of all religious freedom. One can understand what Dr. Jordan calls the 'spawning' of the sects, though we do not like the word he uses; and the bigoted stiffness of Presbyterianism after it had come to power led inevitably to its decline in face of the tolerant desires of the Independent Army. Having discussed this situation in the first section of his book, Dr. Jordan describes the period of Independent dominance in the second section. Here Cromwell appears as the outstanding figure, and it further proof were needed of the true greatness of the man, here it is, and in unmistakable form. Not every great general, by a very long way, can continue his greatness into a later stage of constructive statesmanship. Cromwell could, and his religious settlement was framed to safeguard liberty as much from the narrowness of the sects as from the narrowness of such as Laud. Indeed, as in Dr. Jordan's words, 'the strength of Cromwell's Government was principally derived from the fact that he stood between England and the threat of Presbyterian bigotry'. Yet the Protector largely failed because of 'his inability to conciliate moderate Anglicanism by incorporating it

into the fabric of the National Church, or at least by granting to it the status of a tolerated sect'. It may seem surprising that, after tolerating the Quakers in their early excitable days and turning a blind eye to much of the worship of Roman Catholics, he could make so strategic a blunder in regard to the Anglicans. There was a party too strong for any ruler to leave unreconciled, and the savagery of the Clarendon Code was to show in due course how the passion for revenge which actuated the extreme Anglicans took its opportunity when a revengeful political power provided it. But it is often easier to see the faults of other people than their difficulties, and of difficulties Cromwell had abundance. Assaulted, criticized, nagged at from all sides, baited by his Parliament and disquieted more than once even by his Army, the Protector continued on his way, in good health and ill, urged on by that passion for religious liberty which he bequeathed to his son who succeeded him, and which, after the reaction under Charles II and James II, was to receive some lasting recognition at the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The third and fourth sections of the book afford discussions and examples of Presbyterian and Sectarian thought concerning religious toleration: the information is full and well arranged, and the historical characters speak with living voices. But by this time the great voice has already spoken, and the stage is left to those of lesser calibre. Still do our hearts go back to that giant of conviction, strong in the simplicities of his faith, who came from the English countryside to lead the soldiers of the New Model in striking a blow for the freedom of the land he loved. He made mistakes, as every man of action does. But 'certainly, it may be said, no modern ruler has ever accomplished so much for the cause of religious liberty in the face of such gigantic difficulties'. This is the author's own conclusion. It claims much, yet not too much. Dr. Jordan has written another great book, for which we are glad to express our gratitude.

H. WATKIN-JONES

Religion and Life in the Early Victorian Age. By E. E. Kellett. (Epworth Press. 5s.)

This is the first of a new series of books, the Lincoln Library. The name is full of meaning to those who remember that John Wesley was Lincolnshire born, and became a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. These books are bound in Lincoln green, and have as a design on the cover that corner of the quadrangle of Lincoln College where Wesley's bust is set in the wall. Most fittingly the first book in the new series comes from the pen of the most distinguished living man of letters within the Methodist family, who bears a name of high honour in our Methodist annals. Those who have read that charming book, *As I Remember*, will be eager to taste the same flavour of genial and reflective wisdom in this companion volume. Mr. Kellett is far too fine a scholar, and has too wide and deep an appreciation for the great in literature, to join in the cheap and shallow disparagement of the Victorian age. Strictly speaking, the title is slightly inaccurate, for it is usual to divide that age, like Gaul,

into three parts. The early Victorian period lasted from the Queen's accession to the death of the Prince Consort at the end of 1861. The middle Victorian period lasted from 1862 until the close of Disraeli's Government and the triumphant return of Mr. Gladstone in 1880. The late Victorian period covers the 'eighties and 'nineties, and ends with the close of a great epoch in history at the very opening of the new century. Mr. Kellett's delightful studies cover the early and the middle period, though of course personal reminiscences are confined to the middle period. He is no mere *laudator temporis acti*. With a fine discrimination he balances the good and evil that were found side by side in that wonderful age that has passed away for ever. He is quick to discern and to appreciate the gains which may be set against the loss in our present generation. If he deplores the decay in Bible reading and in the general knowledge of the contents of the greatest masterpiece of the world's literature, he can yet rejoice in our present deliverance from the uncritical reading and acceptance of all that is to be found within the covers of the Bible. He exults in the general rise in the standards of justice, as between parents and children, employers and work-people, rich and poor. Without apparently committing himself to a position of absolute pacifism, he points out the immense advance which has been made by the conscience of the Christian Church with regard to the essential wrongfulness of war. The introductory chapter warns us against one-sided impressions of any section of history which depend upon the all-absorbing interest of the narrator. Who that reads Dean Church or Tom Mozley would get the same impression of the Oxford of the 'thirties and the 'forties, or imagine that he was looking at the same University life as that depicted by James Pycroft in his *Oxford Memories*? Religion is prominent throughout. Thus, while we are not surprised to find a reference to the Tolpuddle Martyrs in the chapter on the Social Background, it is a delightful surprise to discover a mention of that once famous saint in our Methodist calendar, 'the Angel of Chequer Alley'. In some ways the chapter on The Minister, with its sub-acid flavour, is the most entertaining of all. But that other one on The Children runs it close. There is an acute appraisal of Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son*, and Mr. Kellett comes out as an unexpected ally of Mr. Penney Hunt in his campaign against the exclusion of children from public worship. But the most penetrating paragraphs are those in which the author reveals to us what our own generation has so largely lost in a vivid sense of the presence and power of the living God, in spite of our larger liberty and escape from the worst perils of religious unreality. Here and there one ventures to question a statement. The reference to the case of Joseph Rayner Stephens will make any old student of Methodist History under Dr. J. S. Simon rub his eyes. So will the double reference to Thomas Garland [*sic*]. Surely it should be Thomas Galland, and are the facts quite accurately stated? They are near enough, at any rate, to be correct in substance. Then at the bottom of p. 46, the date 1830 should be 1835. One almost needs to apologize for saying

anything about such trifles when commending to those who love good writing such a wealth of good matter written by a great reader who bears his weight of learning so lightly. This is a book with which to pass an enjoyable evening before the fire.

W. F. HOWARD

Sir David Lyndsay. By W. Murison. (Cambridge University Press. 10s. 6d.)

This book will have a fascination for those interested in the pre-Reformation Church of Scotland. In the story of events leading to the collapse of the old Scottish Church in 1560, one outstanding figure is that of Sir David Lyndsay, and for many years after the Reformation the name of Lyndsay was among the most familiar in Scotland. Lyndsay was a lover of his country in a time when to be a patriot was no easy thing in Scotland. In addition to the appalling state of the Church, there was another burning question as to whether the Kingdom was to unite with England or remain a puppet in the hands of France. But this volume is concerned with Lyndsay as poet and satirist of the Old Church in Scotland. The question why he escaped punishment for his utterances against the clergy is somewhat of a mystery, his actions and writings were more than bold for a government official. Especially when a man like Buchanan was imprisoned and had to flee the country. It may have been because of his prominent position at Court and perhaps the jester's cap and bells. He was a man of ability and trustworthiness, with an abhorrence of falsehood, and Henry VIII praised his discretion when on an embassy in England. His kindness and love of animals was notable in a coarse age. Though not a poet of the highest type, Lyndsay was a ready versifier with a command of clear and fitting language. He was a quick observer, a man of shrewd sense, a great humorist, a clever painter of life. The author, after giving some account of Lyndsay and his poems, sets forth in detail his charges against the Scottish Clergy, and then produces evidence to prove that the charges rest on solid foundation of truth. The evidence comes, not from sources hostile to the Roman Church, but from State documents, and from writers loyal to the Church, and a terrible indictment it is of immorality of the most blatant kind, grossness and filthiness, negligence and avarice, and this among the women as well as the men who were leaders of the Church. It was notorious that very many of the clergy were ignorant of the contents of the Bible. Some of them had to ask how and what they should preach. There were, of course, and had been in the Scottish Church men of learning, good men of upright life, attentive to their duties, but these appear to have been the exception. The evidence is set forth how from time to time efforts were made to remedy this. It was this state of things Lyndsay pierced with his sarcasm and flashing mockery, and the pointed home-thrusts of his songs and ballads. His humour and satire in poetry and drama appealed to the eyes and ears and feelings of the multitude who had lost all trust in priests. Little wonder the Reformation came, it was long overdue.

W. G. THORNAL BAKER

English Mystics of the Fourteenth Century. By T. W. Coleman.
(Epworth Press. 5s.)

The decline of prayer in our Churches is due quite as much to the limited conception of its nature (prayer for the most part being emptied of the notes of worship and adoration) as any other cause. In the writings of the Christian mystics every aspect of the life of prayer is covered and emphasis placed upon what is most essential. Methodists and others besides, should therefore be grateful to a writer who in a skilful and fascinating manner has placed them in touch with the essence of English mystical works during what was, in many respects, the most creative period of devotional life—the fourteenth century. The book is intended to introduce readers unfamiliar with this kind of work to mystical writings, and no better period could be selected than the fourteenth century in England. I imagine the uninitiated brought face to face with, say, John of Ruysbroeck and turning a little giddy; but the shrewd and pithy counsel contained in the 'Ancren Riwele', the attractive character of Richard Rolle singing his love songs, and the delectable Lady Julian must surely capture the imagination of all whose spiritual susceptibilities are swift and delicate. The extracts are unerringly chosen. The fourteenth-century English mystics, whilst simpler in style, often homely and quaint, have also the advantage of drawing attention to the two main streams in mysticism, the one following the Pseudo-Dionysius and tending in the direction of the Via Negativa, and the more embracing kind of devotional activity accepting the manifold of life. The unknown author of *The Cloud of Unknowing* represents a mysticism that is in danger of denying life, and Julian of Norwich, anchoress though she is, can be seen moving out to a broader and more liberal type of devotion and in some respects anticipating William Blake. One little quibble, Mr. Coleman is by no means the first Free Churchman to write on Christian mysticism. There have been a number of books by non-Anglicans and Catholics, notably Miss Herman's *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism*. But those familiar with these works will not be disappointed in this latest contribution to the subject, and those for whom it breaks new ground will be grateful to their dying day for such a wise guide, philosopher, and friend as Mr. Coleman. A book well worthy of the high standard of the 'Lincoln Series'.

J. H. BODGENER

The Herods of Judea. By A. H. M. Jones. (Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.)

This is an excellent book, by an historian who is especially fitted for the task by his studies of the East under Roman Government. The reputation of the writer is placed beyond doubt by his fine work on *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. *The Herods of Judea* is not simply a series of royal biographies, but a valuable commentary on the political and religious life of the Jewish people under these kings. Though it is stated that the book is written from a secular

standpoint, 'in the hope of satisfying a want for deeper and wider information', one can think of no one to whom this 'deeper and wider information' will be more welcome than to the Christian student of early Christian periods. The author has many reliable sources, and by comparison readily arrives at his facts. Whilst he states that from Tacitus, Suetonius, Appian, Cassius Dio, Strabo, and others Josephus is by far the most important source of information, he does not hesitate, when occasion demands, to state inaccuracies in Josephus, generally due to the biased accounts of his chief source, Nicolaus of Damascus, court historiographer of Herod the Great. The author has a racy, narrative style, making his history at times entrancing; the very beginning, where he relates the circumstances of the founding of the Herodian Dynasty, makes the reader anticipate a good time for himself. The references to events in the Old Testament, such as the annulment of mixed marriages by Ezra, and the work of Jeremiah in the restoration of Jerusalem, invest such matters with an importance which in their proper historical setting is seen to be very real and fundamental in the life of the Jews. Referring to Nehemiah, the author says, 'When in 432 B.C. he retired from the governorship, he left the Jewish community firmly established'. The founder of the Herodian Dynasty was Antipater, whose ambition from the first seems to have been to rule the Jews. The story of his rise to power is well told, and provides an interesting introduction to the history of the dynasty as a whole. The energy with which the Jews could resent wrongs is related in connexion with the many clashes which took place between them and the representatives of Rome. The tenacity with which they clung to their ancient ritual is also illuminating, as well as the advantage which their enemies often took of the fact that the Jews would not fight, or work, upon the Sabbath day. The study of Herod the Great, occupying nearly one half of the book, is an interesting account of a most remarkable man, and is a wonderful background to some of the happenings recorded in the Gospels. He was at first along with his elder brother Phasael a tetrarch, afterwards becoming through an interview with Antony and Octavian the 'King of the Jews'. He represented to Octavian that he was 'a champion of Rome who had lost all in defending his dominions against the public enemy, the Parthians'. In reality he was a prince who had been ousted by a rival; his appointment as king was really more than he had expected, his intention having been to obtain satisfaction by championing the cause of Aristobulus his brother-in-law, and then becoming his regent. He became under the Romans a client-king. The client-king had no permanent status, his role being to keep his own people in order and not to take any aggressive action; the Roman government looked to the time when the dominions under the rule of the client-kings should be fully incorporated into the provincial system. Herod seems for a time to have been free from some of the restrictions imposed on other client-kings. The last years of Herod the Great occupy a separate chapter, and of these years a graphic account is given; family quarrels, and conspiracies occupied

and worried the mind of the weakening Herod, and his closing years were embittered by much plotting against him. The author appraises the good points in Herod, his organizing genius, his untiring energy, and his financial ability; at the same time he calls him, with good reason a 'forceful and terrible figure'. The skill with which the author analyses the motives of the various characters in the book is noteworthy, and his keen penetration into the interior of events is evident. In a brief review it is impossible to go into details regarding the sons of Herod, but from beginning to end the book retains its interesting character. It has six good plates, some very helpful chronological tables, and a number of folding maps.

G. FEATONBY

A Hand Through Time. By Dr. E. Greenly. (Murby & Co. 2 Vols. 18s.)

The Hand of which Dr. Greenly speaks in this work is that of his wife. The first volume is an account of her ancestry and his, and of their fellowship in love and life. It is an intimate and individual book both in style and lay-out. Mrs. Greenly was a remarkable woman and her character is portrayed through the eyes of love. Dr. Greenly is the grandson of Charles Greenly, one of Wesley's helpers. The story is one of the Victorian age, full of details and of much interest, especially on Mrs. Greenly's side. The courtship of the author and his wife was like the proverbial true love, it did not run smooth, but the day of marriage came, and with it, vast content. Dr. Greenly, whose story it is also, has served with distinction in the geological survey of Scotland and Wales. Much information is given, in passing, of the rock formations of these districts. The hardships endured by these surveyors is noteworthy and the book is adorned with many good sketches made in the course of the survey. The narrative of the first volume is completed by a second which consists of studies and essays concerning the Arts, Sciences, Religion and finally Immortality, all in relation to Mrs. Greenly. Her wide service and deep sympathy endeared her to all who knew her and to the societies which she served. The last part of volume two is devoted to thoughts on immortality, and to such evidence as satisfied the author in the time following Mrs. Greenly's passing. This unusual book concludes with a full index and a key to quotations. It is a monumental study of a gracious woman.

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SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

We Live and Learn. By Lord Stamp. (Macmillan. 7s. 6d.)

The custom of inviting outstanding personalities to deliver official addresses to great educational institutions has grown with the years. In this book of such addresses on Education, Lord Stamp makes a definite and valuable contribution to the subject. The range of these speeches is wide, for it concerns the vital relation of Education to Mind Management, Technical Training, Post Primary Education, the Christian View of the World, Books, Geography and the Economic Theory, Awareness, and the Institution in Modern Society. Education has a threefold purpose. It should fit us to get a living, to live a life, and to mould a world, that is, it must provide for vocation, character and citizenship, and in this order. These three ideals are the background of all that the author writes in this book. It is vital for the progress of the world that we be expert in our business, wide in our interests and international in our aims and service. The duty of every university is the development of the balanced life in an unbalanced age. The future rewards of study will be an income of money and leisure, the right use and appreciation of which defines character and marks real achievement. It is this graduation in social judgement which is so necessary, and it forms the theme of a typical address by the author to the University College of Wales. We are in peril of mass prejudice and from the pitfalls of democracy, dug deep by false emphases, and from contempt of the responsibilities of citizenship, persistent education of mind and soul can alone deliver us. Confidence in developed intelligence based on spiritual impulse, is our safeguard. The fallacies, short-sighted selfishness and crude traditions which stand in the way of a better world, are mostly so obvious that a mass attack of education and religion ought to defeat them. Lord Stamp has the virtue of speaking of things that he has achieved, and that we ought to achieve, and of challenging us to both understanding and judgement, in words and with ideas that the average man who is willing to learn, may readily receive. Throughout this book he communicates his experience with a refreshing humour which will achieve the life and foster the learning he exemplifies.

The Idea of God and Social Ideals. The Beckly Social Service Lecture, 1938. By J. Scott Lidgett, C.H., M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 2s. 6d. Paper Covers, 1s. 6d.)

Dr. Lidgett in the introductory chapter writes of the attitude of the Church to social reform, and shows that individual Christians have invariably shown sympathy with palliative remedies after evils have arisen. But the great bodies of Christians have been slower in making constructive efforts to bring about social well-being. Dr. Lidgett thinks that the hard-and-fast division of religious types into orthodoxy

and liberalism ignores the great intermediate realm in which both types work together for righteousness. True catholicity is neither rigid nor fluid, and has an underlying unity out of which the extremes of orthodoxy and liberalism have arisen, and by means of which the truth in each of them may be brought into organic spiritual coherence. The inward, the mystical and the prospective have ever been essential and consistent parts of Christian faith and life. The bond that unites them is evident on every page of the New Testament. There is first the inwardness of religion explained by the experience of the Fatherly-filial relationship. Theology, religion and ethics are all transformed by that. This gives to the kingdom of God two essential characteristics. It is transcendent and forthgoing, for the treasure is in heaven and the objective is on earth. The true meaning of sonship is to enjoy the highest experience and to manifest it by uplifting and transforming the terrestrial order. Almost in the same breath, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says: 'Ye are come . . . unto the city of the living God,' and 'To do good and to communicate (i.e. to share) forget not'. Then at the close of this analysis Dr. Lidgett interprets Christ's saying about receiving the kingdom of God as a little child. This particular page coming from the pen of a man of eighty-four moved me by its tender sentences as a printed page has not moved me for many a long day.

Then the Doctor examines the significance of the Christian Church as its life is described and prescribed in the New Testament. He finds that it is neither sacerdotal, prelatical, nor individualist. The fellowship is profoundly spiritual and frankly human. 'The very height and intensity of spiritual fellowship of the Church makes it solicitous for the physical well-being and the material security of its members.'

Dr. Lidgett notes how concerted effort for human betterment has become dominant in recent times, and especially in democratic communities. This urge has been conceived sometimes as a reaction against accepted religion, and has not always been recognized as due to inherited religious traditions. Old Testament religion consummated in New Testament truth is the inspiration, even if unacknowledged, of the social ideals of to-day. We get the unfolding of the Supreme Personality in His people, and His attributes become their standards. This issues in obligations to the poor, the widows and the fatherless, again and again insisted upon by the prophets. Throughout subsequent history, the prophets held a spiritual ascendancy over the nation, and emphasized that its supreme obligation was to their heavenly king, rather than any earthly monarch. This becomes clear in Isa. xxxiii: 'For Jahweh is our judge, Jahweh is our law-giver, Jahweh is our king; He will save us.' There was a further development still. Both the achievements and the failures of the earthly monarch opened the way to the revelation of the coming advent of the Messianic King, who should fulfil the ideal of kingship in character, communion with God, and saviourship of His people. Old Testament prophecy culminates on the very brink of interpreting the kingship of God in terms of His Fatherhood.

This Divine Kingship of the Old Testament gives the key to the conception of the Kingdom of God in the New. It is not an external constitution, but the establishment of the effective rule of God in the hearts of men. Dr. Lidgett shows later that our Lord's revelation of the Kingdom of God is perfectly conveyed by the Lord's Prayer. There are some pages of exposition which are more precious than several volumes on the subject which are on my shelves. They are by distinguished men, but they will have to go. These succinct sentences have out-moded the wordiness of other days.

There are new notes in our Lord's teaching regarding the Kingdom of God. Fatherhood is no mere gracious quality, but the due expression of a supreme and constitutive relationship. More than that, the Person of Christ opens into a mediatorship between the Kingdom and mankind that was only imperfectly anticipated in the O.T. prophecies of the Messianic King. Besides that the apocalyptic hope of the O.T. becomes a subordinate feature of the N.T. The holy satisfaction of present experience is set in the forefront and brings all the spiritual resources of the Kingdom within immediate reach.

The historical chapter follows. The author shows that the Christian religion must be estimated by the place it holds in the revelation of truth and the development of mankind. It has played an immense part in revealing the value of human personality and the worth of human society. The Idea of God has been the key to all endeavours to bring a Christian civilization into being. The Church has enjoyed spiritual fellowship. It has been catholic from the first, receiving converts of all races, classes and religions into an equal brotherhood. It has been both missionary and martyr.

Dr. Lidgett's conclusion on the last page is this: 'The desires and movements of men must be *judged* from above as they emerge from within. . . . The sense of "oughtness" must be recognized as the Categorical Imperative of God, not as the mere mass-mind of men. Only God in Jesus Christ can meet the need. . . . Through and unto Him alone can human progress become at once catholic and personal, spiritual and social, evangelical and ethical, righteous and merciful, pure yet compassionate and redemptive.'

T. B.

World Community. By William Paton. (S.C.M. Press. 5s. net.)

This is one of many books dealing with the relation of the Church to the international problems of the day. The author is well known for his contributions on missionary subjects, and he has a keen sense of the universal mission of the Church, as the ultimate solver of all human divisions. After surveying the break-up of the older community represented by the idea of Christendom, he goes on to show how the message of the Church alone can restore it. 'The primal need of human life as God has made it is for community and fellowship.' But, though on the technical side the world has become a unity, 'for this high destiny mankind is not yet fit' (Romain Rolland). Not better technique is wanted, but a new spirit, and a new sense

of the underlying Divine life in humanity. It is here that the function of the Church comes in. 'It is dual in its nature. . . . It speaks in the language of every land and people. . . . But within humanity it speaks of God.' In spite of divisions, a universal Church already exists, 'living a common life in virtue of the eternal verities that are in Christ'. This Church possesses in the Gospel a message that can change men's lives. Its most important duty is evangelism. To witness to Christ is the master-word of Christian service—the principle of Christian action, by means of which Christianity makes its impact upon the world. The book closes with an insistence on the duty of churchmen to rehabilitate God. 'To preach means to bear witness to reality'; and the ultimate reality is God, at work in His world and in the lives of men. It is this belief in God, implemented in the life of individual Christians and through the society of the Church, that will save humanity and restore to the world its true community life. This is a book to be read by all who would have their faith in the future of the Church established.

A. J. D. LLEWELLYN

Empire Social Hygiene Year Book, 1938-9. (Allen & Unwin. 15s.)

This book offers a unique and comprehensive survey of social hygiene in the British Commonwealth of Nations with the exception of South Africa and Rhodesia. The vital questions dealt with include those of maternity and child welfare, housing, marriage laws, prostitution and venereal disease. Details are given of services rendered by the civil authorities in England, and the work done throughout the empire and world by the various nations. The statistics for the armed forces of the Crown are thorough and indicate that the number suffering from venereal disease is decreasing. The book is thoroughly up to date and the special articles included add much to its value. Such a volume is a worthy addition to the great reference books, and will be particularly welcome to those whose work lies within its compass of records.

GENERAL

An Essay on Critical Appreciation. By R. W. Church, D.Ph.
(George Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)

Under the above title, Dr. Church, of Cornell University, has written a remarkable study in aesthetics. The philosophical thesis of the book is really a thoroughgoing criticism of the theory of participation—that a thing is beautiful because it participates in an abstract principle of beauty. Penetrating and suggestive as the criticism is, we find it unconvincing. The nominalistic position can always be defended, but it is rather by verbal analysis than by any genuine appeal to actuality. To put the issue plainly, and in untechnical language, why does Dr. Church or anyone else call a poem, a painting, a statue, a flower—diverse as these are—all beautiful things, unless they share a quality, or stand in a relation, or occupy a series (or whatever other phrase you like) that can only be called by the abstract name of beauty? In the last issue it does not matter much whether you regard ultimate beauty as something originally shared by all beautiful things, or as something abstracted, or even constructed, from them by the perceiving mind, since obviously there must be *something* in all beautiful things which can be recognized by the mind as beauty, or extracted by the mind and constituted into beauty. In other words, there *is* beauty, or at least the ultimate secret, or source, or material of beauty, in all beautiful things, and to say that they participate in a principle of beauty is only one rather summary way of saying so. Still, however one may criticize Dr. Church's volume in detail, or even dispute its central contentions, the fact remains that here is the most suggestive book that has been written for a long time past on the general problem of the beautiful. The detailed expositions on points of painting and sculpture appear to show a real mastery of the technical side of art. There are five excellent illustrations. One grumble must be permitted in respect of style. Dr. Church writes, for the most part, as well as the very abstract nature of the theme permits, but he is hypnotized by the phrase 'to be sure', which occurs scores and scores of times, and (in the majority of examples) occurs quite unnecessarily. Perhaps it is ungracious, after all, to call attention to this mannerism, since it has brought to the mind of the reviewer pleasant memories of Uncle Remus and his 'Tooby sho, honey, tooby sho!'

HENRY BETT

Poems by William Starkey, M.D. Selected, with a Preface by his son, James Sullivan Starkey (Seumus O'Sullivan).
[Dublin, published privately by his son, James Sullivan Starkey (Seumus O'Sullivan).]

Seumus O'Sullivan, Irish poet and editor of *The Dublin Magazine*, is known to many English readers for his poems, particularly perhaps for his oft-quoted beautiful poem, 'A piper in the streets to-day', which

is surely one of the simplest and loveliest expressions of sheer joy in all poetry. Obviously he owes much of his tenderness, and his joy in simple things to his father, the late William Starkey, M.D., whose poems he has now selected and published. In his preface Mr. O'Sullivan tells us of Rebecca Starkey, a wonderful woman, the wife of a Wesleyan Minister, who was 'during many years class leader, sabbath-school teacher and visitor of the sick and poor' whose first and last Methodist Class Tickets her grandson still cherishes. Son of an Irish Methodist manse, father of a poet, himself a Doctor of Medicine, Dr. Starkey at once compels our interest. His poems are of course those of another age. Not here do we find bitter irony, harsh realism nor strange obscurities of thought and style. In the main he is a gentle poet, unambitious in his themes, conventional in his style, true to his own age but as his son rightly remarks, 'there is in these simple verses a sincerity and purity of expression which cannot fail to please a reader who has experienced the religious truths which he has tried to express for they are, with all their faults, full of a living faith in that divine guidance which was with him to the end'. This living faith is a triumphant one as shown in 'David Brainerd':

Here in disease I lie,
Full of distress and pain;
And well I know that I shall die,
And turn to dust again:
But, Death, thou hast no sting for me—
Thou art a conquered enemy!

and again in his translation from St. Bernard:

With Christ! For Christ! The foe may rage in vain.
Safe in the battle and of victory sure!
Nay, wert thou wounded, trampled on, and slain,
'Twere worth thy while ten thousand deaths to endure,
And, through Death's Vanquisher, the deathless life secure.

These poems, few in number, the expression of a fragrant life, and of a victorious faith,

And He is wealth and Fame and Beauty,
And all I want for evermore,

will bring joy to many people.

Collected Poems. By Cecil Floersheim. (Cambridge. 7s. 6d.) Messrs. Cambridge, of Hove, have issued in a handsome volume of 443 pages the *Collected Poems* of Cecil Floersheim. The author, who was a barrister, was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, and died at sea on his way home from Australia in 1936. During his lifetime his work appeared in three privately printed volumes. The first *Collected Edition* was published by Chatto and Windus in 1936, and is now issued with some additions by Combridges as the *Sussex Edition*. It is sensitive work which exhibits everywhere the fine taste of the scholar, but there has also gone to its making something more than taste and training. Beneath the careful and sometimes anxious craftsmanship is an unfailing spirit of poetry; its presence is

felt everywhere, even though it does not always find unimpeded utterance. The poet is least successful, perhaps, in his more philosophical attempts, where he is sometimes not quite able to cope with the burden of his thought. In 'The Cathedral', a poem largely suggested, we are told in a note, by the Cathedral of Chartres, he struggles with an unmanageable idea, a too-elaborate analogy between the architecture of the church and the religious experiences of the human soul. Such themes are really beyond the compass of his essentially lyrical gift. In another poem, 'The Debate', he attempts a Miltonic theme, and thus challenges a comparison from which it was inevitable that he should suffer. It is in lyrical poetry, where thought serves, as it were, as a commentator on feeling, that he most successfully displays his gift. The great bulk of his work is of this order, and it reveals a mind that is able to respond to a wide range of experience. In one poem, which lacks a title, he expresses the Stoic mood at its best, the spirit of a high disinterestedness:

If no reward our service boast,
 So unrewarded be it best;
 The sentry frozen at his post,
 Who lonely has endured the test,
 May count his nameless life well lost
 As who of spears where foes are most
 Gathers the harvest to his breast.

Then let us at our posts be found,
 Content our night long watch to take;
 Since no great Captain goes his round,
 The less our duty to forsake;
 Truth's soldiers by our honour bound,
 Though no reveille for us sound
 Nor any dawn shall break.

That is nobly said, but it is not the characteristic temper of his mind. More familiar to him is the world of Greek mythology, for which he has a scholar's feeling and in which, when the mood is upon him, he can make himself at home. He has made a number of translations from the Greek Anthology, and in a note he acknowledges his indebtedness to the prose renderings of Mr. J. W. Mackail and Mr. W. R. Paton; but they well deserve to be read on their own merits as poetry. It is, however, not as a thinker or scholar, but an English poet drawing his inspiration from the English countryside, that he is at his best. When he writes of things he has seen for himself he sets them down in words of his own, and the reader feels that thrill of recognition which is the reward of poetry. The evening darkness closes round us as we read a lovely phrase like this:

The soft withdrawal of the light
 Takes all.

All the spirit of Autumn is distilled into a description of

The white mist, with chill fingers clinging
 Along the hedge.

The churring of a nightjar is heard at evening over a deserted harvest-field 'as though the ghost of the mowing were still abroad in the field'.

In a vivid and lovely metaphor he speaks of an emotion that is 'Made visible, as the wind is by the grass'. These things are in the true tradition of English poetry, and there is an abundance of such things. They are worth preserving.

W. S. HANDLEY JONES

Boys and Girls Living as Neighbours. By Lillian White. (Abingdon Press. \$1.25.)

The Abingdon Religious Education Text-books represent a serious and effective effort by the Methodist Church in America for education in life. The series of Guides to Christian Living is particularly well done. The latest volume is a guide for teachers having the title 'Boys and Girls Living as Neighbours'. It offers a syllabus for a year's work, and indicates the source of materials and the method of teaching. In conjunction with the teacher's guide is a pupil's work book (costing 35 cents) which invites the scholar's co-operation, and suggests things to do and books to read. The text-book aims at helping boys and girls to face life's situations realistically and to interpret religion in terms of daily living. The course is first surveyed as a whole, and then proceeds to the particular study of Church, Home, Poverty, the Cinema and the Outsider, and concludes with a plan for development of the study activities. Many stories, both biblical and general, are inserted in the text for the teacher, and these are fresh and vivid. The book is bewildering in its high speed efficiency in every interest of youth. To carry out all its plans would mean a full time task for the leader. In these days of voluntary service that would be a real difficulty. The aim of the writer may be defeated in practice by the multitude of her suggestions and plans. Still it is an ideal to reach, and if the average worker will try some of the suggestions much will be achieved.

That They Go Forward. By Eric Fenn. (S.C.M. Press. 2s.)

The Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State was a gathering of Christians from all the main communions save Rome, and was drawn from forty-five nations. Of that conference this book is a summary. In 1914 the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches was formed and later the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. These two bodies combined in the Oxford Conference last year. The five divisions of the assembly concerned Church and Community, Church and State, The Economic Order, Education, the Universal Church and the World of Nations. Each question is surveyed in this book with the implications of the problem, and a virile challenge is thrown out to the reader. Evidently the conference at Oxford was a humbling experience, but the call is heard 'that they go forward' with a conquering faith in God, born out of self despair. This fine summary of the problems faced will introduce the reader to a waiting task.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Hibbert Journal (July).—This issue is not so directly occupied with the European situation and world conditions as have been several numbers, but the subjects discussed are of vital interest to all deeply concerned for the life of our modern world. 'Towards the New Liberalism', by M. Alderton Pink, is an excellent consideration of the present position and relationship of our political parties, in which he says the issues once dividing the Constitutional parties are dead, and that the cleavage between parties is more apparent than real. He asserts that our Governments are content to work obsolete political machinery and that we cannot for ever go on in our present ways. Our purpose to build a better world can only come by changing men's hearts. There must be a conversion of men and women to the ways of freedom, peace and co-operation, and a large scale removal of material conditions hindering these ways of living. If the liberal state is to survive it must be remodelled to cope with these essential demands. C. F. Andrews tells what India thinks about the League. It has never been popular in India, but there is no inclination to throw away the League altogether. There is a continuation of the previous articles by Alfred Loisy on 'Was Jesus an Historical Person?' Here is a man from whom the orthodox turn their heads in fear, standing forth as an apologist for the historic reality of Jesus Christ. Dr. C. J. W. Wright, of Didsbury College, writes penetratingly on 'Validity' in recent ecclesiastical discussion. 'Needless Schism', is an interesting comment on the bicentenary of Wesley's conversion, by R. A. Edwards, in which the simple conclusion of the matter, for the writer, seems to be that the Methodist ministry should be placed beyond the reach of criticism by inviting the Methodist Church to allow its ministers to accept ordination at episcopal hands. It appears that the unfortunate phrase 're-ordination' could be ignored. In 'A Biblical Anniversary', Reginald F. Rynd makes the plea that the Bible as a whole should not be broadcast among primitive peoples, this especially in relation to the Old Testament, and further, he declares that no parent with any sense of responsibility would give his children a free and unfettered use of the Bible. There is the usual survey of recent theological literature by Dr. James Moffatt, and the usual Reviews.

British Journal of Inebriety (July).—This quarterly offers, in addition to the report and membership lists of the society, three excellent articles. The first is on the 'Influence of Alcohol, Tobacco and other drugs on Physical Efficiency', by Dr. A. Abrahams of Westminster Hospital. This paper introduced a discussion at a recent meeting of the Society. It skilfully and clearly presents the case. The second article on 'The Role of Vitamin B1 deficiency in the production of

Polyneuritis in the Alcohol Addict', by Dr. Norman Jolliffe of New York, is technical and well annotated. A third essay, on 'Addiction and Benzedrine', is by Dr. G. W. B. James of St. Mary's Hospital, London, and deals with the use of a drug which induces confidence and possibly adds to skill in an intelligence test while not inducing addiction. A wide range of literature is covered by the reviews given.

Congregational Quarterly (July).—Principal E. J. Price ably discusses 'The Message of the Church'. He says we are presented with a group of tensions which furnish a crucial test of its validity and effectiveness—the tensions between Humanism and the Gospel of Redemption, Nationalism and the claim of the Universal Society, the Economic Order and the Spiritual Order, and Ecclesiastical Loyalties and the World-significance of the Church of God. Dr. E. L. Allen writes of 'Japan's Inner Conflict'. He sees in Japan two souls in one people, illustrated by two schools of thought. The one, military almost to a man, regards Western civilization as primarily an affair of technique; the other realizes that Western civilization is in some sense a spiritual achievement, a tradition of respect for human life, government by discussion and consent, the effort to create a society in which liberty and authority can each have its due place. The tension sometimes betrays itself in the march of her armies on the Chinese mainland and sometimes in internal political struggle. In 'Prayers of the Bible', the Rev. R. K. Orchard notes that we cannot have a Pauline success without a Pauline intercessorship, that our faith is no philosophical abstraction, and our prayer no mere soul culture. He thinks the prayers of the Bible are models of essential concreteness—illustrations of spiritual fruit from most unpromising beginnings. There are also articles on 'Has Congregationalism special significance in the Present Social Situation?', 'An Indian Gentleman', 'The Quakers and the Puritans', and 'Dr. J. B. Paton'. Brief discussions under 'Developments and Experiments' include 'The Way Forward for Congregationalism-Grouping', 'Invading the Brewster Sessions', 'Sunday Street Parades', and 'Missions and the Future'. The Editor contributes an interesting note on 'Preaching in the Vernacular!' He commends the example of Jesus: His teaching went to the very foundation of life, yet His words were those a child could understand. When we live among the people, and go about doing good as He did, perhaps our language will be as simple, and our preaching as powerful and as permanent.

Religion in Education (July).—This issue opens with some weighty observations by Sir Walter Moberly on religion as the basis of true education. 'If we do not help Youth to understand its own fundamental nature and the fundamental nature of the universe, are we helping it to an understanding of how life should be lived?' There follows a scholarly paper by Dr. Anderson Scott on 'St. Paul, the Man' in which the apostle's qualities of mind and heart are clearly set forth. Many readers, however, will single out Professor A. E. Taylor's discussion of Aldous Huxley's book, *Ends and Means*, as

being topical and critical. While commending Huxley's thesis that evil should not be done that good may result, Taylor disagrees with much of his reasoning on social, economic, and political matters. Methodists especially will be interested in an account by A. H. Body of John Wesley as an educationist with its reference to the founding of the 'New Kingswood School'. Other readers than Anglican can learn much from the 'Outline of Preparation for Confirmation' contributed by the Headmaster of Liverpool College. Margaret Avery supplies competent lesson notes on the Jewish Wisdom literature. Reviews and annotations of recent books complete an interesting issue of this useful Quarterly.

The Expository Times (July).—In the 'Notes' there is a discussion on the Parable of the Churlish Neighbour, based on a sermon by the Rev. J. S. Whale. Every preacher would find this illuminating and helpful. Dr. J. Hugh Michael has a timely article on 'Why don't we preach the Apocalypse?' which should clear some timid prejudices, and give a new note to the prophetic message. 'The Psychology of the Oxford Group Movement', by Dr. T. H. Hughes, of Swansea, analyzes the Group mind on the matter of conversion and finds it lacking in depth and reality. Dr. Garvie, writing on 'The Value of the New Testament for the Christian Church', pays a fine tribute to Dr. R. W. Dale and to his insistence on the necessity of a living experience of the living Christ as confirming, perhaps preceding, the work of the historical student. The 'Enigma of the Swords' (Luke xxii. 35-8) is dealt with in a fresh study by Rev. T. M. Napier of Glasgow. (September).—In 'The Greek Style of St. Paul', the Rev. Martin Pope makes high claims for the place of the Epistles among the classics, and confirms his plea by copious instances. The Rev. Philip Watson, of Leeds, discusses Nygren's *Agape and Eros*, Part II, of which is about to appear in English. Mr. Watson draws some theological implications from Dr. Nygren's work. Contending that Agape is self-giving, and Eros self-seeking, he says that the Agape of God is 'not motivated by the worth or lack of worth of its object. When the Father loves the Son, He does so because He is Agape, not because the Son is a worthy object of love'. It is not easy to see what is the difference between this, and love that seeks for self-satisfaction. The article is interesting and challenges thought. Outlines of Children's Addresses, and of Sermons for the Christian Year are well chosen and helpful. An article on 'The Jewish Problem' comes from the Rev. F. C. Spurr. The next number will begin the fiftieth year of publication. *The Expository Times* is of great value to scholars and preachers, and we wish for it increasing success. R.W.H.

The Journal of Theological Studies (July).—The article this quarter is by the Rev. A. L. Lilley and deals with 'A Christological Controversy of the Twelfth Century'. 'Notes and Studies' include a number of learned discussions of points in historical theology, textual criticism and Hebrew lexicography. Linguistic scholars will particularly value C. C. Tarelli's treatment of some linguistic aspects of the

Chester-Beatty Papyrus of the Gospels, and G. R. Driver's continuation of his study of the linguistic and textual problems in the Minor Prophets. The reviews, as usual, are of a high order but something more than competence marks Professor C. H. Dodd's treatment of the second and third volumes of the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.* edited by Gerhard Kittel. It is a real contribution to the study of N.T. vocabulary.

AMERICAN

Religion in Life (Summer Number 1938).—This American quarterly offers a wide conspectus of Theology and Life in fourteen essays, each of which is a real contribution to thought. E. W. Lyman points the way to a new and profounder understanding of the meaning of Christian belief in an article on 'Faith in Christ'. K. S. Latourette writes hopefully and historically of the progress of the churches in his country under the title 'The condition of religion in the United States'. The great councils at Oxford and Edinburgh last year and at Utrecht this year are surveyed in the light of achievement and prophecy by W. A. Brown. 'The Christian Doctrine of Government' is well presented by R. H. Stafford. The fact that Christ is ethically supreme is argued by J. W. Buckham. Articles on 'The Problem of Pain and the Doctrine of Immortality' (John Paterson), on 'Prayer' (Maude Royden), on 'The Preacher: A Creative Theologian' (E. E. Aubrey) and on 'The Church and the World' (R. B. Hoyle) are each of much service to the working minister. For general interest and information we commend the essays on 'Berdyaev' (P. Tillich), 'Stained Glass' (J. Sheldon), on 'Improving our Hymns' (J. V. Moldenhawer) and on 'Bible Words as Book Titles' (R. B. Pattison). An excellent issue concludes with the usual incisive reviews.

The Harvard Theological Review (July).—This number contains three most interesting articles. The first by Wilfred L. Knox discusses Jewish Liturgical Exorcism; the second is entitled 'Aristotle and the Jewish Sage according to Clearchus of Soli'; the third, by Professor C. C. Torrey, is devoted to the word *Armageddon*. In this essay Dr. Torrey disposes of the assumption that there can be a reference to 'Mount Megiddo'. He finds the clue in Isaiah xiv. 13 and in Ps. xlviii. 3ff. It is the Mount of Assembly, which in Hebrew-Jewish eschatology became the standing term for the scene of the great battle of Messianic time. The form which this word takes in the Greek text of Revelation is due to the Greek translator's transliteration of the two Hebrew words, with *ayin* represented by *gamma*, as so often. Incidentally Dr. Torrey suggests that in the great description of the Messiah riding forth on his white horse, at the head of the armies of heaven in their pure white uniform (Rev. xix. 11-16), his title, KING OF KINGS and LORD OF LORDS is written 'On his garment and on his banner', not 'on his garment and on his leg'. The difference in the assumed Hebrew original is only that between the letters *daleth* and *resh*, in the words *dgl* and *rgl*, and those letters are distinguished by the slightest stroke (the title of Matt. v. 18). This

conjectural emendation certainly makes far better sense. Coming back to the main contention of the essay, Armageddon, or rather Armagedon, originated in the 'Greek transliteration of the Hebrew literary term which was not understood. The phrase was in fact an occult designation of the battle-ground, the holy mountains about Jerusalem; on which, according to the Author of this apocalypse as well as to every other exponent of Jewish eschatology, the hosts of heaven were destined to overthrow the heathen armies at the end of the present age'.

FRENCH

Foi et Vie (Nos. 99-100. 39e Année.) Among the many good things in this issue there is an article by M. Pierre Burgelin, who re-examines the teaching of Nietzsche in the light of his biography. M. Burgelin thinks that too much notice has been taken of the denunciations made by an author who destroyed only in order to build up. Nietzsche's fundamental idea was that we obtain nothing which we do not deserve; and the asceticism which he denounced when it is for an illusory future becomes the mark of the hero when it is practised for a worthy end. An article by M. Charles Tellier, 'Quelques aspects spirituel du desert', is inspired by the reading of T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. For the writer of the article, Lawrence's religion was just 'that of the English "gentleman"—the integrity of the counting-house spiced with a grain of chivalry'. Under the heading 'La Vie Catholique' M. Henri Capieu reviews, from the high Calvinistic point of view, a recent Roman Catholic book, entitled *Une Sainte Parmi Nous*, on Sainte Thérèse of Lisieux. The book is condemned on three grounds: 1. Its approval of the use of images, which break the Second Commandment; 2. Its claim that Thérèse has made saintship accessible to ordinary people, whereas sanctity is not a method but a gift of God; 3. Its approval of the decree of canonization of St. Thérèse which denies Christ's Last Judgement. Other features in the issue are a eulogistic review of *La Gâlopine*, a novel by Roger Breuil; an exposition and criticism of the philosophy of Nicholas Berdiaeff; and a summary of some opinions on the Jewish question recently expressed by Jacques Maritain and Karl Barth. There are also three Passiontide sermons.

Mercure de France (1er Août, 1938), contains a delightful article by Pierre Fervacque on Louis de Cardonnel, whom he declares to be the greatest French religious lyrist since Bossuet. The three letters of de Cardonnel to a young man which are here reproduced give a revelation of the pastoral love of one who was not only a priest but also a poet and a humanist.

ITALIAN

Il Religio (July).—The subjects dealt with in this number are very varied, including theology, folklore, archaeology, historical criticism, philosophy, and occultism. In an article on 'Mentalità primitiva e

Christianesimo' Ernesto de Martino examines the statement of Loisy that the primitive 'law of participation' is at the basis of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and therefore 'the religious mentality of the most enlightened Roman Catholic belongs to the same magical, mystic, prelogical order as the totemistic mentality of the primitive Australians'. After an interesting discussion Signor Martino concludes that the Eucharistic rite implies a much higher moral and social experience and an intimacy and spirituality unknown to the primitive. In 'La Versione Slava di Giuseppe Flavio' Agostino Goethals criticizes some recent works on Josephus including that of Jack. 'The controversy concerning the testimony of Josephus to Christ will be concluded only at the Day of Judgement.' 'Le reliquie dell archicenobio fiorense' by Edoardo Galli describes the excavations among the ruins of the monastery of Joachim da Fiore at Sila. In 'Augusto Comte e la religione dell umanità' Edmondo Marcucci discusses the life and theories of the French philosopher. It is remarkable that Comte should have owed the inspiration for his Religion of Humanity first to a harlot and afterwards to Clotilde de Vaux, a mediocre authoress disappointed in love. Comte's belief that progress in material science would be the panacea for all evils has proved illusory, but his theories have not been without useful effect. In particular the idea of human brotherhood had in Comte an enthusiastic apostle who 'did his best to offer it in a renewed and more effective form to the people of his time'. Among the reviews there is warm commendation by the editor of Dr. Walter Laurie's book on Kierkegaard. Buonaiuti thinks that Kierkegaard would have been hostile to all churches to-day except the Confessional Church of Germany. 'His was the vision of the prophet rather than the conclusion of the historian.'

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